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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., by the Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15 cents a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and three weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.*

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

OUR COVER this month is a reproduction of the famous painting, "The Adoration of the Magi," by the German painter and engraver, Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528). This work, which now hangs in the Uffizi, Florence, Italy, belongs to Dürer's first period (1494-1505) and reflects the influence of Martin Schongauer.

The Magi, or three kings, sometimes called the three kings of Cologne because of the shrine to them in Cologne cathedral, have been a favorite topic with painters. Botticelli, Rubens, Mantegna, Bosch, Burne-Jones and many others have painted the subject. The magus on the right with the ciborium-like vessel in his right hand is the Negro Balthazar. The others are Gaspar and Melchior. Picture by courtesy New York Public Library.

JAMES FARMER ("Unsheathing the Consumer Sword," page 362) is a graduate of Wiley college, Texas, and Howard university. From 1937 to 1941 he was a member of the executive committee of the National Council of Methodist Youth, and from 1938 to 1940 was vice-chairman of the Christian Youth Council of North America. He served for four years as race relations secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He now does free-lancing writing and lecturing. He lives in New York City.

FERN LONG ("A Cultural Operation Crossroads," page 367) is supervisor of the adult education department of the Cleveland, Ohio, public library.

FOR PERSONS INTERESTED in Blessed Martin de Porres (page 370) we suggest the following titles: "Meet Brother Martin! The Life of Blessed Martin de Porres," by Nobert George, O. P., "El Beato Martin de Porres, o un Brote de Hispanidad," (Blessed Martin de Porres, or a Hispanic Twig) by S. Velasco, and "Ristretto della Vita, Virtu, e Miracoli del Ven. Servo di dio Fr. Martino Porres," (Sketch of the Life, Virtue and Miracles of that Venerable Servant of God, Brother Martin de Porres) by Rev. Padre Maestro Fra Domenico Ponsi.

ARTHUR E. BURKE (who reviews *The Policy King*, page 378) is assistant professor of English at Hampton Institute. He is a regular *Crisis* contributor.

FOR OUR JANUARY ISSUE we have scheduled

- **★ Edward Branford—Commercial Artist**
- **★ Keep the Kids Busy**
- **★ Will Two White Men Vouch for You?**
- **★ Crisis in Jamaican Self-Rule**

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College and School News

As a contribution to better education in rural America, the BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS has recently become the sponsor of two rural schools in Wyoming county, West Virginia. The support is being given through the Save the Children Federation of New York City. A. Philip Randolph, president of the BSCP, has declined to restrict the contribution to Negro school aid, telling the Federation, "You are doing excellent work. Please use the money where you see fit." Such help takes the form of assistance in the establishment of a school lunch program, health and recreational promotion, or providing badly-needed teaching material.

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE began its 72nd term with a record enrollment of 483, of which 161 are veterans scattered throughout the various schools of the college. This is double the number of veterans enrolled in 1945, and more than five times the number enrolled in 1944.

The college reports the following new developments: In the dental school, children's dentistry, with Dr. Charles Sweet of Oakland, California, and Dr. Walter McBride of Detroit, Michigan, as special lecturers and demonstrators; continuation of the public school program in dentistry, which was instituted in the schools through arrangements with superintendent W. A. Bass. In the medical school arrangements have been made with Dr. C. C. Pfeiffer, head of the department of pharmacology at the Illinois Medical School, for a course in pharmacology to be given by the members of the Illinois faculty.

Dr. C. C. Dummett, chairman of the administrative committee of the school of dentistry, has been granted a year's leave of absence to study at the University of Michigan. He will study toward the degree of master of public health. Dr. W. H. Allen will act as chairman during Dr. Dummett's absence.

Newest addition to the LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) teaching staff is Clyde Winkfield, instructor in piano. Mr. Winkfield, a Chicagoan, received his training at Loyola university and the Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago. He has been a piano student of Victor Saar, Paul Synder, and Milton Treshansky. He has appeared as soloist with the Detroit Civic orchestra, the America Concert orchestra, and the National Youth orchestra.

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James D. Parks, head of the art department, won the following prizes in the fine arts exhibition held at the recent Missouri state fair:

Second prize of $35 in professional oil painting for his "Matisse and Masque": third prize of $15 in oil painting for his "Reveries in a Beer Tavern."

Neal Haygood, an August graduate of the university and a chemistry major, is being employed as a chemist by the Sherwin Williams paint and varnish company of Chicago, Ill. According to Dr. Moddie Taylor, professor of chemistry at Lincoln, this is probably the first time a Lincoln chemistry student has stepped right out of the classroom into a job as industrial chemist.

Another Lincoln chemistry major and graduate, Donald Bordeaux, is now a research assistant at Western Reserve university, Cleveland, Ohio.

A recent speaker at the university was Horace R. Cayton, co-author of *Black Metropolis* and director of Chicago's Parkway Community House. He addressed the ten o'clock convocation on November 7 on the subject, "The Psychology of Race."

Total enrollment at the university for the first semester of 1946-47 has now reached 1,020, the largest in the history of the school. Eight hundred and thirty-one students are enrolled in the college of arts and sciences, 13 of these being journalism professionals; 150 in the laboratory high school; 3 in the division of graduate study; and 36 in the law school.

THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK reports an enrollment of 219 full-time students, the largest in the history of the school. Of this number, 137 are women and 73 men. There are 72 veterans enrolled. These young people come from twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia, and all are college graduates, representing sixty-two colleges and universities scattered throughout the nation.

SPELMAN COLLEGE reports an enrollment of 440 students from twenty-six states, the District of Columbia, Liberia (Africa), and Ontario (Canada). Of this number, 181 are freshmen; 114, sophomores; 71, juniors; and 74, seniors. Three hundred and thirty-five of those enrolled are boarding students.

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE reports an enrollment of 852 students, with one from Liberia and two from the Virgin Islands. Georgia heads the list of states with 395 students enrolled. More than 500 of the *enrolés* are veterans.

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First speaker to address the 1946-47 forum series at Morehouse was Dr. Ambrose Caliver, specialist in higher education of Negroes in the U. S. Office of Education. He told the forum on October 21 that "special needs of the Negro college today are reformulation of their objectives and a revitalized teaching and administrative personnel."

Other speakers who addressed the forum were Dr. Clark H. Foreman, November 13; Dr. Will W. Alexander, November 27; and Arthur Raper, December 11.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY began its new term with 257 students registered in its graduate and professional schools. Total enrollment in the university system, according to the records of the registrar, is 2,099. The large jump in enrollment has necessitated the building of five additional classrooms, a substantial increase in faculty and staff, the scheduling of evening classes, and the utilization of government housing units.

Formal celebration of third annual Charter Day was held at the university on October 16, with Charles Dollard, executive associate of the Carnegie Corporation and a co-organizer of the American Council on Race Relations, as speaker. Climax of the celebration was the charter-day dinner at which a special tribute was paid to John P. Whittaker, who has now entered upon his thirtieth year of service to Atlanta university.

The following guest professors and lecturers have been announced for this year: Dr. Alain Locke, Howard; Dr. Lee M. Brooks, University of North Carolina; Dr. Carter Goodrich, Columbia university; Frank McCallister, Joe Jacobs, Ken Douty, and Paul Styles of the Georgia Workers Education Service; Dr. Kimball Young, Queens College; Langston Hughes; W. B. Stubbs, Alex Miller, Dr. George Mitchell, and Dr. Guion Johnson, Southern Regional Council; Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations; Dr. Hilda Taba, University of Chicago; and Dr. Oliver S. Loud, Antioch college.

These specialists in the social sciences will present phases of the course, Foundations of Social Science, initiated at Atlanta university in 1944 "to give students a wider opportunity for education by emphasizing contacts with authorities in the field." The theme this year is "Social Change in the United States, Its Nature and Directions."

Ninth annual scholarship convocation of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was held on October 20, with Dr. Harrison H. Ferrell, dean, making the prin-

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cipal address. Individual scholarship awards were made to the ranking students.

Dr. Herman G. Canady, professor of psychology and philosophy in the college, has begun his visiting lectureship under the American Friends Service Committee. His tour will include lectures on psychological topics in seventeen different colleges.

A newly announced publication in the college bulletin series is *Education for Efficient Living*, by Dr. Charles C. Hawkins, director of the department of health, physical education and safety.

President John W. Davis has announced that the Secretary of War, Robert R. Patterson, has awarded, on behalf of the War Department, a "Certificate of Distinction" to the college for the training of soldiers in the Army Specialized Training Program during World War II.

Professor Harry Washington Greene, director of teacher education, has recently published a valuable study in the field of higher education entitled, *Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes* (Reviewed in *The Crisis* for September, 1946, at page 284).

ST. AUGUSTINE COLLEGE reports a record enrollment of 371 students, representing twenty-seven states, the District of Columbia, the British West Indies, the Canal Zone, and the Virgin Islands. Of the 127 men students enrolled, 74 are veterans attending under the GI bill. There is one woman veteran.

NEW PRESIDENT — *Dr. Charles S. Johnson, whose election as sixth president of Fisk university was announced in October by the trustee board meeting in New York City. The first Negro to head the 80-year-old school, he has been director of Fisk's social science department since 1928.*

ALABAMA STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE began its new term with a record enrollment of more than 1,000 students.

Annual founder's day exercises at SHAW UNIVERSITY were held on November 22. Tenth anniversary of the services of Dr. Robert P. Daniel as president of Shaw was also held on this occasion. Since Dr. Daniel has been president the student body has increased from 400 to 800; the university staff from 35 to 81; and the operating budget has been doubled. Speakers at the celebration were C. C. Spaulding, president of the North Carolina Mutual; former governor J. Melville Broughton of North Carolina; and Dr. P. A. Bishop, president of the General Baptist State Convention.

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MINISTERS' SUMMER SCHOOL — *Seventy ministers of various denominations from all sections of Virginia attended the fourth annual session of the special ministers' summer school at Virginia State College in July.*

Dr. C. L. Hunt of Raleigh has been appointed new school physician to succeed Dr. Peter F. Roberts, long-time staff physician at the college.

Among the new faculty members at FISK UNIVERSITY are Robert Hayden, English; Velma Wesley, biology; Emmett Kellogg, economics; Minnie Bowles, assistant librarian; and Vida McGriff, English.

Fisk has inaugurated an adult education project designed to raise the educational level of "functionally illiterate" Negroes in the Nashville area in cooperation with Tennessee A and I State College. The project is sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education in cooperation with the American Association on Adult Education and the National Conference on Adult Education and the Negro.

According to the 1940 census and Selective Service records, one-fourth of the entire United States colored population is functionally illiterate. "A functional illiterate," the U. S. Office of Education explains, "is a person 25 years of age or more who has not completed the 5th grade of elementary school."

Among recent speakers at the university have been Paul Burrough, British student and world traveler, and Dr. Chang-Lok Chen, Chinese consul general at Chicago.

On October 11 the Fisk University Jubilee Singers broadcast over the NBC network as part of the services of the 75th anniversary celebration of the original Jubilee singers' departure from Nashville in 1871.

Fisk announces the formation of a national committee of thirty-seven persons to lead a fund-raising campaign for Scribner hall, a new dormitory for women. Howard Bennett, field representative of the American Council on Race Relations is chairman, and Randall L. Tyus, field director of the United Negro College Fund is co-chairman.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE announces the retirement of J. Henry Scattergood of Philadelphia, Pa., after sixteen years as chairman of the Hampton board of trustees. The board has elected him chairman emeritus.

New board chairman is Dr. Channing H. Tobias of New York City, a director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Dr. Tobias is the first non-white chairman of the Hampton board of trustees.

The presidents of the thirty-three educational institutions affiliated with the United Negro College Fund recently re-elected Dr. F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute as president of the Fund. Miss Florence Read of Spelman succeeds Dr. Thomas Elsa Jones of Fisk as vice-president. Dr. Robert P. Daniel of Shaw was elected secretary. Annual fund-raising institute of the group will be held January 20-21 in New York City.

Spelman announces thirteen new appointments to its teaching and administrative staff for the school year 1946-47.

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Editorials

Watch the Republicans

THERE is a great temptation after an election like that of November 5 to make sweeping statements. The happy Republicans have been issuing gleeful and extravagant pronouncements. The so-called "real" Democrats have not been too vocal. The disappointed Liberals and Independents have been making dire predictions about the fate of the country under the GOP.

Negroes, always pretty canny in politics, are not in a bad position and are playing a waiting game. A lot of them went back to the Republican fold, but enough stood fast in the Democratic camp to serve notice on the GOP that the vote of the race is not back in the Republican vest pocket as in olden days. The two Democratic Negro Congressmen were re-elected from Illinois and New York. Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, Democrat, was returned from a California district with a heavy Negro population, over a Negro Republican candidate. Illinois and Ohio had a sprinkling of Negro Democrats elected to the state legislature. The veteran Democrat, Homer S. Brown, was re-elected to the Pennsylvania legislature, and in New York four Negro Democrats were elected to the legislature.

The strictly racial sales talk among Negroes was: "Vote Republican and throw Bilbo and his kind out of control of Congress." It worked better than it ever did under Roosevelt because there was a postwar wave of lynchings and other violence in the South last summer, and because the man in the White House is no Roosevelt. The general sales talk of the GOP about free enterprise, returning the government to the people, etc., did not make too much of an impression on the masses of Negroes. A few wealthy Negro newspaper publishers and other small business men preached this, but their employees all had their eyes on OPA, labor's gains under the Democrats, low cost housing, a health bill, a minimum wage, and all the other benefits for the little man for which the Republicans have evidenced little enthusiasm.

On the racial front the Negro masses are looking for anti-lynching, fair employment practice, and anti-polltax legislation. They would like a civil rights bill for the District of Columbia so that the capital of all the people of the nation will not continue to be a replica of Natchez, Miss., and Waycross, Ga. It is heartening to hear an old GOP war horse like Perry Howard call his party to action on these objectives.

The record shows that the Republicans never learn—as far as the Negro is concerned. To date the Democrats (even with the diehard Dixie wing) have shown more imagination, ingenuity, and daring than the "friendly" GOP. They were forced into many of their moves, but they yielded, at times, to pressure. The Republicans have been stiff-necked consistently. However, on racial issues alone they can learn—if they will—by studying the Dewey procedure in New York, and the Republican county committee procedure in Louisville, Ky.

On general issues the Negro, of course, is interested in wages, job security, prices, housing, health, taxes, and foreign policy. The Republicans have control of both houses of Congress. They cannot use the Southern Democrats as an excuse for failure to act on issues in which the Negro citizen has a deep interest. They will bear careful watching. For example, they can pass an FEPC bill if they so desire. If they shadow-box on this bill as they have in the past why should they get Negro support in 1948?

Smuts on the Defensive

MARSHAL Jan Christiaan Smuts of South Africa, the chief disciple of segregation and exploitation of colored peoples by white, has his back against the wall in the United Nations Assembly, fighting off attacks on two of his pet projects.

Smuts wants UN to give South Africa permission to annex South West Africa. This latter country was once a German colony and has been under mandate to South Africa since 1920. Smuts claims the people of South West Africa have voted to have South Africa annex their country, but he has not been able to convince the United Nations that this is so. Every important nation has opposed annexation except Britain. Not only did the great nations turn thumbs down on annexation, but the Russian delegate went so far as to suggest that UN ought to take over South West Africa under trusteeship, hinting that an inspection of the manner in which the Smuts government has been administering the country might reveal "vestiges of slavery." Angry at this turn of affairs, Smuts declared that even if UN did not approve annexation, South Africa would not give up its old League of Nations mandate and would give the new UN only the barest information and reports required by the UN charter.

It is generally conceded that Smuts has lost the annexation fight, but he is given a good chance to win if UN, pressed by Russia, should try to take away his mandate and put South West Africa under UN trusteeship. In this latter fight America would probably be on Smuts's side because we want to keep our mandates over certain Pacific islands. On certain others we have offered to place them technically under UN trusteeship, but with us running them and giving only "information" to UN on what is being done. Neither the U. S. or Smuts wants the UN meddling in what it considers its private preserves.

Smut's second big headache at Lake Success is the fight of India to place on the agenda the question of South Africa's treatment of Indians in that country. This fight is dynamite, for if India wins, a precedent may be set for UN to act, in certain circumstances, upon racial discrimination in member countries. Smuts is fighting desperately, contending that the treatment of Indians by his country is purely a domestic matter, and that under its charter UN may not interfere.

But the brilliant argument presented by Mrs. Vijaya Pandit, chief of the Indian delegation, was supported by China, Iran, Egypt, and three countries in the Russian orbit.

Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, veteran and polished Chinese diplomat told of the discrimination against Chinese in South Africa, calling discrimination "a sore on the body politic of the world." He said the UN should do all in its power to break down the wall between the white and non-white races.

Meanwhile the United Nations Assembly unanimously passed on November 19 a resolution calling for the wiping out of racial and religious persecution and discrimination.

It would be naive to imagine that the UN will immediately end such discrimination, or that Smuts will be utterly defeated, but the happenings to date encourage the belief that the Smuts type of thinking is on its way out. Certainly the UN discussions on race are far ahead of Versailles where President Wilson and the British would not even permit race to be discussed formally even in a committee meeting.

Unsheathing the Consumer Sword

By James Farmer

A recent visitor to the South suggests use of the co-operative as an effective weapon for attack upon racial segregation

THE dragon of segregation in the South has a soft under-belly, for it must perpetuate a fiction and conceal a fact in order to exist.

To begin with, Negroes can be kept groveling in the southern dust only as long as, and to the extent, that they believe the fiction that their ability to consume rests of necessity upon the white man. The oppressors can remain masters only as long as dark folk can be duped into thinking, when they look upon the white man: "We thank you for our daily bread; by your sufferance must we be fed."

Couple that fiction with the fact that the Negro in the South, like all consumers, has a tremendous weapon—that of consumer power. Upon the Negro as consumer the South has a great and real dependence. That is the fact which Dixie must hide from the Negro himself in order to maintain its vertical caste system.

The first is an outright and practical prevarication; the second, being a concealment of the truth, is just as much a lie. Any system based upon a lie at its heart, or, as in this case, a twin-lie, is vulnerable at that very point. Once the dual myth is exploded, not so much in theory as through demonstration, the mortality of the segregation dragon is at least in sight.

On a recent tour of the South, I observed some indications that steps are being taken to forge such a sword to destroy the lumbering beast. As yet there is no sword; there are only pinpricks besieging the under-belly of segregation. The dragon is not disturbed at present. It is not even aware of what is happening, so slight is the annoyance. Nevertheless, if sufficient pins are developed, they can be, and, I am confident, will be fused into a sword adequate for the task.

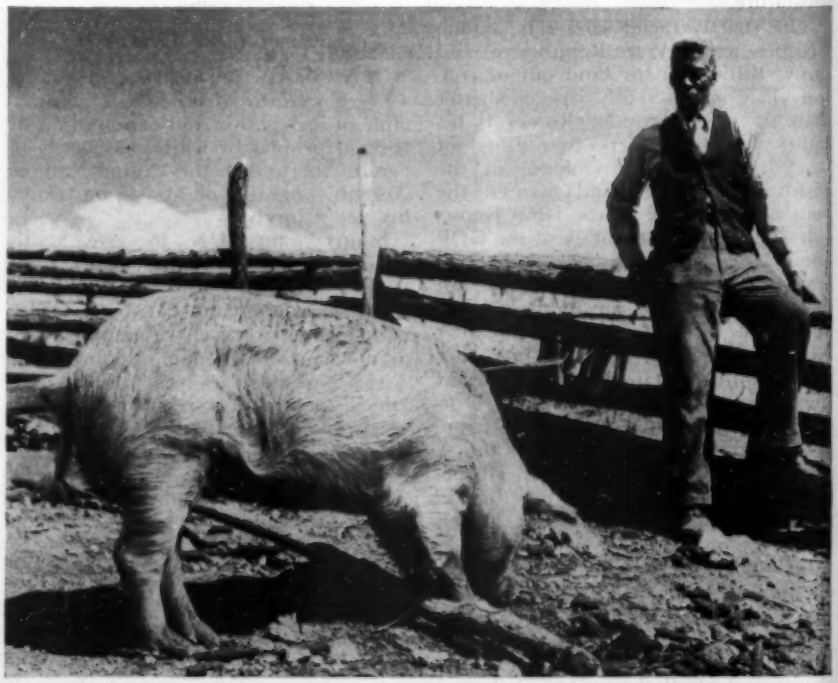
But let us probe a bit more into the nature of the vulnerability of the South's vertical caste.

The greatest compulsive force in Negro life in the South is *fear*. But the deepest fear is not one of bodily harm. Much deeper, more enervating, is the fear that the bare necessities of life will be snatched from them if they do not respect the southern code of behavior. In a word, what is feared most is economic rejection. Bodily harm, or even violent death is bad; but seeing one's family starve is a living torture worse than death. That is the greatest intimidation used to keep the masses of southern Negroes "in their place," and it is the severest punishment meted out to brave "violators" of the code.

School teachers might lose their jobs; domestics and laborers might be fired; professional men might find their "trade" frightened away by an unseen hand; preachers might lose their flocks in a like manner, and furthermore might miss numerous material gifts from white churches; farm owners might suddenly be unable to market their goods.

Holding the purse-strings of all are the white bosses. That is true. It has been true throughout the history of the Negro in America. There can be no doubt about it. The fiction, however, lies in the conclusion which is drawn from that obvious truth, and which Negroes are made to believe. Because it *is* and always *has been*, the logic runs, so it inevitably *must be*. That conclusion is the premise from which most thought and action in the South springs, with which it begins and ends. And nothing could be farther from the truth.

It is to be hoped—more, it is to be expected that the CIO, in its current "invasion" of the South, will allay some of those fears, and remove some of their sources. But the complete solution to this problem lies in the realization that the ability to consume, the ability to secure life's necessities, rests not with the white South necessarily, but with *production* and *distribution*. In the



Dave Penn of Bakewell, Tenn., looks over a husky porker on his 17½ acre farm.

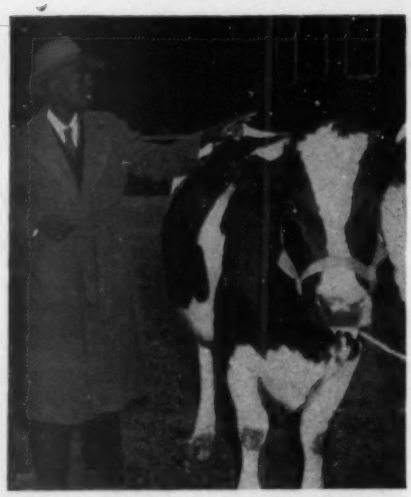
past, "white" and "production and distribution" have been synonymous—hence the present confusion. But the distinction is of utmost importance.

Generally speaking, whoever can consume can produce. And certainly, he who labors can produce. If it is the southern rulers who overlord production, it is the black workers, together with the white workers, who actually produce. CIO unionization in Dixie should enable both black and white workers to obtain a more equitable share of the rewards of production. That will be a valuable help. But there are problems, desptie neo-Marxist theory, which are peculiar to Negroes. Darker workers are not only workers; they are also black. Thus they are twice enslaved. However much one may wish to ignore that, it cannot be forgotten in America. The greatest liberation of the Negro consumer is to be found in the development of production and distribution by southern Negroes. In the past, this has been thought to mean exclusively the creation of individual Negro businesses. But individual Negroes in the South, or anywhere else for that matter, who have sufficient means to engage in production and distribution of any significance are few in number. Further, there is little to be gained by substituting black masters for white ones. Collectively, though, they possess the means, through co-operative enterprise, to produce and distribute in a volume that would stagger the imagination. Therein, I am persuaded, lies one of the brighest rays of hope in the Southland.

Farm Commodities

The most fruitful field for co-operative production, it appears, is that of farm commodities—the lifeline of southern communities, the backbone of a nation. The South is still overwhelmingly agricultural. There are many Negro small farm-owners in the South. Those could maintain individual ownership of their farms, and still join co-operatively in securing necessary farm and processing implements, and in providing adequate distribution of produce. Others, non-farm owners, could purchase land co-operatively.

This co-operative production of common commodities like grain and cotton, livestock and poultry, milk and eggs, could generate a solidarity unequalled in our history. Likewise it could provide a certain independence, a freedom from the tyrannical clutches of the ruling South upon the Negro's purse-strings. With the exercise of a little imagination, producible commodities which are rarer, like silk, could be added to the above. City folk could aid in production by spinning and weaving, producing fabric, clothing and other ultilitarian and craft objects. Also, they would obviously be of invaluable aid in distribution. Within a relatively short time, factories could be built, owned by the people.



AAA Photo

M. W. Lawson of Prattsville, Ala., points out his best milch cow from a herd of fifteen.

I submit that if such a program were developed on a wide scale, the timorousness which has so gripped large numbers of Negro people in the South would progressively evaporate. Creative solidarity is the assassin of fear, the parent of courage.

The South's reliance upon colored folk is not only as a "servant reservoir" and a "source of cheap labor." Because of the huge percentage of Negroes in towns, counties, and states below the Mason-Dixon Line, the reliance upon them as consumers is perhaps greatest of all. Yet, while filching them, the South behaves as though the mere allowance to purchase goods is the granting of a privilege! The village general store, the town market square, and the city department store would be empty skeletons without Negro trade. Of that fact the merchants are fully aware. Witness their loud cries of "bloody murder" whenever sizeable numbers of Negroes sporadically desert any southern community. But when the Negro knows it, and demonstrates that knowledge through the development of consumers co-operatives to parallel and augment those of production, then they can compel respect and gain the greater freedom which comes from supplying many of one's own needs more cheaply. And here, again, the lesson of solidarity can be learned.

This is not mere theory. Practical beginnings are already underway. Within the past several years, consumers "co-op" grocery stores have sprung up among Negroes in southern towns and cities from Texas to Georgia, in college communities and in metropolitan centers.

Of even more basic significance is the recent development of a farm producers and consumers "co-op" in a rural southern community. A scant two years ago, a young Negro college graduate, whose name for obvious reasons I do not divulge, principal of a small high school in the deep South, planted a dream in red soil and sweat. Unlike most college graduates who go to work in the country, especially in the South, this young man did not hold himself aloof from the simple, unsophisticated folk with whom he worked. He became a part of the community—literally, and visited the farmers, listened to their problems, counselled them and attended their gatherings—not to satisfy curiosity or to smirk, but for the precise reason that their life was his life and their gatherings his. He laughed with their joys, shed tears with their pains. So unmistakable was his sincerity that whatever skepticism and suspicions they might have had soon evaporated. They welcomed him into their confidence, sought his advice, and because of his superior training, looked to him for leadership. And in his program they found new hope and new unity.

This school principal, a lonely man like all social pioneers, found that the farm owners, rather than the tenant farmers, were, by the very nature of the case, the most dependable persons to start the work with. In many of them he discovered a homely wisdom, a stoic loyalty, rare "horse sense" and geniality. But they had their troubles. The town boasted but one grist mill, and if its owner "got up on the wrong side of the bed" any morning, the Negro farmers could not get their grain ground. And in the marketing scramble, it was they who took the beating.

By the toil of their new found leader, sixty-one of the colored farm families were organized into a co-operative. They purchased a grist mill, rented a two-compartment store, equipped one half with a soda fountain and luncheon tables, and the other half with facilities for processing and selling their farm products. It is *their* store. They supply it with goods, and they, among others, are its patrons. They are doing thousands of dollars worth of trade. As in all genuine co-operatives, the "profit" is theirs. At the end of the year it goes to them, or into expansion of the store and the expansion of their lives.

Black cynics have shouted that black

folk would not or could not co-operate, that they are hopelessly individualistic. This project in darkest Dixie eloquently brands their cynicism a cruel lie. Rarely found is an *espirit de corps* to equal this. And to the mind of the principal-leader, this is the merest kind of a beginning. They are going to buy a tractor for use on their farms, a truck for their store, and in the yard back of the store they are scattering tables to provide the town's only place for Negro farmers to congregate and "chew the rag" over a soft drink on the sultry days when they come to town. All of this for the Negro farmers, in a county in which they are numerically predominant, is tanamount to a rebirth, a new life.

The school principal has gotten in touch with a group of Negroes in a neighboring metropolitan center in the same state who plan to start a "co-op" grocery store, and has worked out a tentative arrangement whereby the farm group will supply the city group with farm goods such as corn, meal and flour, chicken and eggs.

A Southland Dream

This unpretentious pioneer, void of any messianic complex, envisions the establishment of a co-operative dairy farm in the same community, with pasteurizing and other modern equipment. He dreams of the building of projects similar to his own throughout the Southland, joined together as the links of a chain. And his dream is not fantastic.

In this there is a much greater significance than the mere making and saving of money for Negroes in the South. It can mean a widespread shedding of the fear which is nourished by consumer slavery. It can force more civilized treatment of the Negro by the South through the wielding of consumer power as a weapon.

More, it could be an important opening wedge toward the elimination of segregation. By the very nature of the present southern situation, the development of consumer power, as here discussed, would begin with groups predominantly, if not completely, Negro. That should be a matter of strategy and of unavoidable procedure in most southern communities, rather than a matter of principle. It should be hoped and aggressively sought that when the projects become going concerns, what genuinely sympathetic whites there are in the communities will join in. That is not too much to expect. The sight of successful production, combined with self interest, generates sympathy. History has shown that this psychological fact is even more primary than racial prejudices in the South. Southern whites are victims of the same consumer slavery, pawns of the same masters, as Negroes. The only advantage they have is their white skins. Of this they must be convinced. And demonstration of success is the most convincing agent in the world.

Workers in the South are beginning to see this. It is not too much to expect that what is beginning to happen to men as laborers can also happen to them as producers and consumers? The basis of any economy is production, distribution, and consumption. If a co-operative, raceless system of production, distribution, and consumption is developed in the South, parallel to the prevailing racist one, and designed to undercut it, a sword will have been forged capable of setting the dragon to rout.

Success is not guaranteed. It never is. Victory will go to the economy possessing the greater vitality and providing the greater satisfaction for the basic needs of men. Therein lies the impoverished South's soft under-belly.

AAA Photo

Saw Crawford is shown oiling his tractor on his Maryland farm.

NEW WORLD A-COMING OPENS

The opening performance in the third series of the radio drama "New World A-Coming" began on October 8 over station WMCA, New York, with a documentary dramatization of the life of T. G. Bilbo, "The Gentleman from Mississippi." These weekly programs are dramatizations of the stories of men and events affecting the lives of all minorities in a democracy.

HARLEM FIGHTS CANCER

Another move in Harlem's fight on cancer began with the formal opening of the tumor and cancer prevention clinics at Ned York's Harlem hospital on October 24. Speakers were Dr. Louis T. Wright, director of surgery at the Harlem hospital, and Wolfgang S. Schwabacher, representing the City-Wide Citizens Committee on Harlem and the Harlem Division of the New York City Cancer Committee.

NEGRO SERVES ON WAR CRIMES COMMISSION

Joseph L. McLemore of St. Louis, Mo., former OPA attorney, has been serving with the War Crime Commission in the Philippines as counsel since September of this year when he arrived in Manila from the United States.

The Brazil the Portuguese Created

By James W. Ivy

Brazil is culturally an amalgam of Europe, Africa and America and noted for its tolerant handling of Negroes and mestizos. How this remarkable social democracy was wrought is explained in this article-review of a book which has revolutionized Brazilian historical thinking.

FOURTEEN years ago the American educated young Brazilian sociologist and writer Gilberto de Mello Freyre signed a contract, at the suggestion of his friend M. F. de Andrade, with Schmidt of Rio de Janeiro for the publication of a projected work on Brazilian culture history. He immediately went to work on the book, the first edition of which apeared in December of 1933 under the title *Casa-Grande & Senzala*, literally the *Big-House & the Slave Hut*. The book is in its fourth and definitive Brazilian edition, has gone through two editions in Spanish, and now appears for the first time in an English-language edition.* Although Freyre has since published more than twenty odd titles, this book still stands as perhaps his most characteristic performance. What makes it particularly notable is its frank facing of the problems of miscegenation and its revolutionizing effect upon Brazilian writing and thinking.

"We see it reflected," writes Diogo de Melo Meneses, "in children's books and school texts, impregnated as they are with their Brazilianisms; in painting, in sculpture, in music; in architecture, the theatre; wherever the central theme of *The Masters and the Slaves*, some of which used to be taboo, have come to be generally accepted." Curious to note here is that the Brazilian *intelectualistas* exhibited little enthusaism for the book, and its appearance was followed by years of passionate controversy. For the curious I recommend a careful reading of Professor Paul Arbousse-Bastide's preface to Freyre's *Un engenheiro francês no Brasil* (A French Engineer in Brazil). The professor lists the objections to the *Casa*, offers a defense, and then gives, incidentally, one of the best appraisals of the work in print.

Freyre's Reputation

But by the time the fourth and definitive edition of the book had appeared ten years later, Freyre's reputation and stature as scholar and thinker had grown to such proportions that he could no longer be denigrated. His compatriots were already extolling the brilliance and the superlative quality of the work in such fulsome terms as "born a classic," "before and after *Casa-Grande & Senzala*" (which is the division one critic made in Brazilian intellectual history); and still another thought Freyre "one of the most eminent historians now writing in the Portuguese tongue."

GILBERTO FREYRE
A caricature by Danilo Ramires

Much of the Brazilian criticism of the book was basically an objection to the author's open championing of miscegenation, a point on which many Brazilians are especially sensitive to foreign criticism, and his emphasis on the dynamism of the Negro and Indian as factors in Brazilian culture. Few if any of the early Brazilian historians, and not all even today, would admit, as Freyre does, that "socially the most plastic, and in a certain sense the most dynamic, element in our formation was the mulatto; usually the mulatto equipped with intellectual and technical training." Now contrast this with Euclydes da Cunha's "An intermingling of highly diverse races is, in the majority of cases, prejudicial," or "The mestizo . . . is a degenerate type." (*Os Sertões*, The Backlands). Even the great Brazilian historian José Francisco da Rocha Pomba seems to agree with Bilbo when he writes that "the African Negro is the most vile and abject of human creatures."

Ironically enough, however, it was America, and especially our South, rather than Brazilian Negrophobes, which was in many ways responsible for this book. For at the tender age of seven Freyre was enrolled by his father in the Colégio Americano Gilreath at Pernambuco, an institution established by North American missionaries and preferred by the best families of the Northeast for the education of their children. At eighteen he entered Baylor university, Waco, Texas, where he found himself a classmate of the present Senator Tom Connally. In this racist setting the young Brazilian spent his college years. However, as a Brazilian white he was accepted with the usual kindness and hospitality which Southerners extend to foreigners. It was their attitude toward Negroes and quasi-whites that rankled him.

Reaction to Southern Racism

Southern Negrophobia was so disturbing that he began to think profoundly upon the situation and future of such a largely mestizo people as his fellow Brazilians. He rejected with scorn the American fancy of a superior white race. In the preface to his *Sociologia* he writes:

"More than one critic has variously accused me of being Negrophil or Indiophil; of partiality in my discussions of mestizos in warm countries and tropical climates; of preaching a

* *The Masters and the Slaves*: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization. By Gilberto Freyre. Translated from the Portuguese of the fourth and definitive Brazilian edition by Samuel Putnam. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946. lxxi+537+xlivpp. $7.50.

Brazilian sort of patriotic sermon when faced with certain facts and social problems. Perhaps I have displayed a somewhat exaggerated reaction—since I am the offspring of a country that is primarily tropical and mestizo, though I personally belong to a family of European descent with remote traces of Indian, but, it seems, no African blood—to the myth of 'race purity,' the 'superiority' of the Anglo-Saxon, the Nordic, to the rest of mankind; and against the contempt, likewise based on myth, of these same Anglo-Saxons or Nordics for tropical lands and mestizo peoples. I first came in contact with this myth during adolescence. I happened at the time to be studying as a Brazilian student in a North-American university [Baylor] situated in the deep South in one of the most rabid centers of the Anglo-Saxon ethnocentric myth."

In his preface to the first Brazilian edition of *The Masters and the Slaves* he says he came to the conviction that of "all the problems confronting Brazil there was none that gave me so much anxiety as that of miscegenation. Once upon a time, after three straight years of absence from my country, I caught sight of a group of Brazilian seamen—Mulattoes and *Cafusos* [Negro-Indian]—outlined in the soft snow of Brooklyn. I no longer remember whether they were from São Paulo or from Minas, but I know that they impressed me as being the caricatures of men, and there came to mind a phrase from a book on Brazil written by an American traveler: 'the fearful mongrel aspect of the population.'"

It was Freyre's experiences in America, especially his contact with the raw racism of the South, that helped him to clarify his thinking upon racism and miscegenation. America had made him race conscious, but America in the person of the late Professor Franz Boas also furnished him with the tools with which to combat it. He says that his studies in "anthropology under the direction of Professor Boas revealed to me the Negro and the mulatto for what they are—with the effects of environment or cultural experience separated from racial characteristics." Boas taught him to regard as "fundamental the difference between *race* and *culture*." What Freyre sets out to do in this book is to explain the peculiarities of Brazilian culture through the method of culture anthropology. His sources are inventories, wills, pastoral letters and relations, travel books, cook books, etiquette books, folk-lore, novels and litographs. With this vast accumulation of research material in his hands, our author works to recapture, in a sort of Proustian manner, the *temps perdu* of

The Moorish type house of Estrada do Encanamento belonging to Freyre's brother, Ulysses, in which Gilberto wrote the greater part of THE MASTERS AND THE SLAVES.

colonial Brazil. His emphasis is upon the family and Portuguese miscibility; in fact, the subtitle of the book is "Formation of the Brazilian Family Under a Patriarchal Economic System." The presentation is in five chapters devoted to the general characteristics of Portuguese colonization in Brazil, the formation of a slave-holding and hybrid society, and the native in the formation of Brazilian life, with two chapters devoted to the Negro slave in the sexual and family life of the Brazilian.

Freyre begins by painting a vivid portrait of the Portuguese invader. The Portuguese was the product of a dual culture, African and European, Mohammedan and Christian; he was a conglomerate racial fusion with a large admixture of Negro and hardly any racial prejudice. His character was a "wealth of contradictions," "vague and unprecise"; his religion, a lyrically social Christianity tainted with survivals of phallic and animistic worship; a Christianity in which "the Infant Jesus is identified with Cupid, and the Virgin Mary and the Saints with the concerns of procreation and love rather than with chastity and asceticism"; he was a "reprobate chaser of Negro women and girls" and an idealizer of the "enchanted Moorish woman." He lived by making himself believe that he was powerful and important. Given to religious purism much as present-day Anglo-Saxons are given to the purism of race, he made Catholic orthodoxy the basis of colonial unity. Only one question was asked of an immigrant—was he Catholic? And even the slave-trader would baptize his catch before placing them on the auction block in Rio.

He was the most skilful of colonizers of tropical regions and the "most Christian . . . in his relations with people considered inferior. . . ." He was given to miscibility, mobility, and acclimatability. Sixteenth century Portugal was commercial, not rural; and the counting house, rather than the palace, was the center of regal activities. His pronounced economic realism Freyre ascribes to the Semitic element. And her colonies were the result of private initiative rather than state effort.

Portuguese Assets

These paradoxical qualities were the chief assets of the Portuguese in their colonizing efforts in the Orient, Africa, and later Brazil. In the sixteenth century the population of little Portugal was probably about the size of that of Cleveland, Ohio—scarcely more than a million people. Without huge masses of emigrants to export, she made up for her scarcity of man-power through wholesale hybridization. Miscegenation was current in the peninsula long before the conquest and Lusitanian contact with the technically, culturally, and intellectually superior Moors had long ago softened any dislike they may have had for darker peoples; this ethnical tolerance naturally facilitated Portuguese miscibility and colonization in Brazil. Portuguese "fondness for the erotic," their delight in sensual pleasures, their ploygynous tendencies, an inheritance from the Moors, the scarcity of white women in the New World, all combined to create widespread profligacy and large scale miscegenation with the natives and later with the Negro slaves. "Only the interference of the Jesuit fathers kept [it] from becoming an open libertinism, by regularizing it to a large extent through the sacrament of Christian marriage." "The two peoples who first met in this part of America—that is to say, the Portuguese male and the Indian woman—were highly sexed." Even the Jesuit fathers had "to take care not to sink in the carnal mire."

The Indians encountered by the conquerers were a backward group, with no cities comparable to Cuzo and Tenochitlán. They were primarily a nomadic people with no well-established sedentary groups, and their reaction to "European rule . . . was almost one of pure vegetable sensitivity and contractility, with the Indian withdrawing or shrinking back at civilizing contact with the European, out of an incapacity to accommodate himself to the

(Continued on page 379)

A Cultural Operation Crossroads

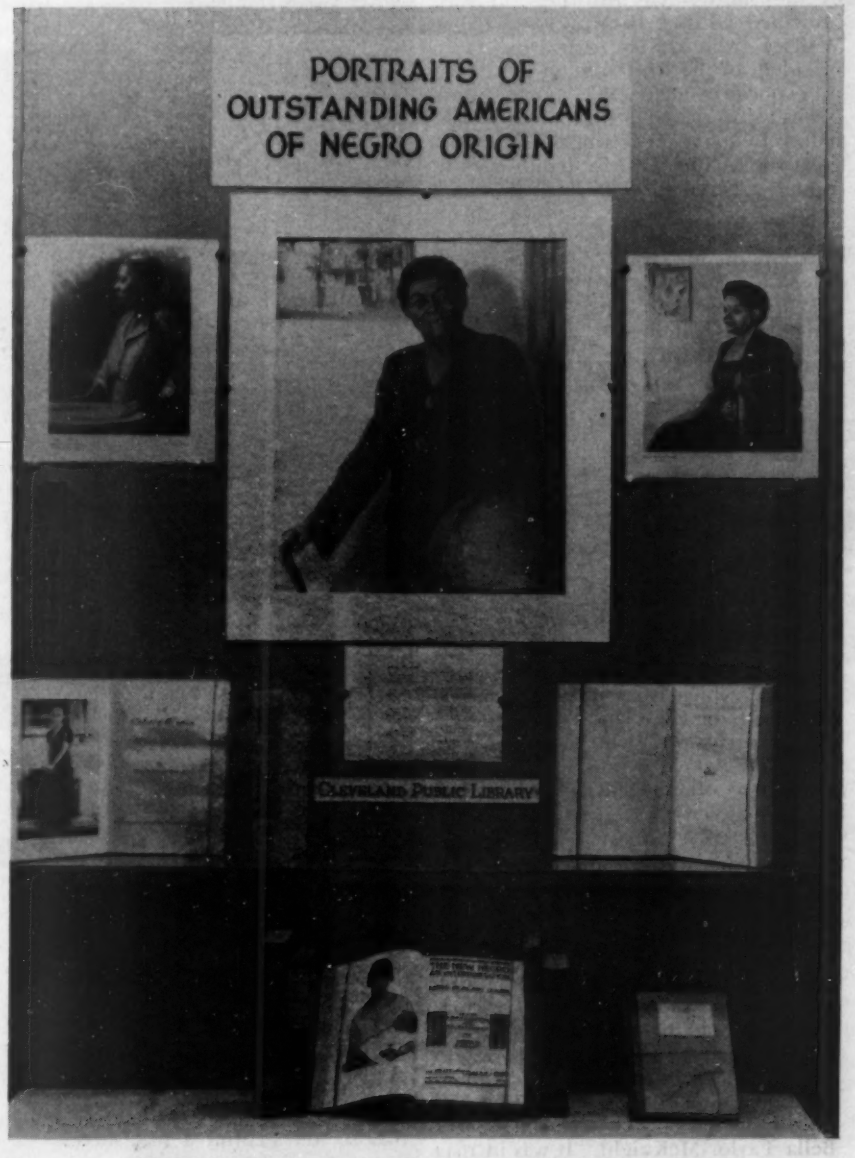
By Fern Long

Pictures and books can be effective weapons in the fight on racism

THE other day I heard a certain educational project aptly called "An Operation Crossroads of the intellect," implying that it is possible to release on the intellectual level as much force as an atomic explosion may do on the physical level, and suggesting further that a kind of chain reaction is possible in human minds. As one thinks about this figure of speech, it occurs to him that there may be all sorts of Operations Crossroads in the intellectual field, and in the spiritual and cultural field as well.

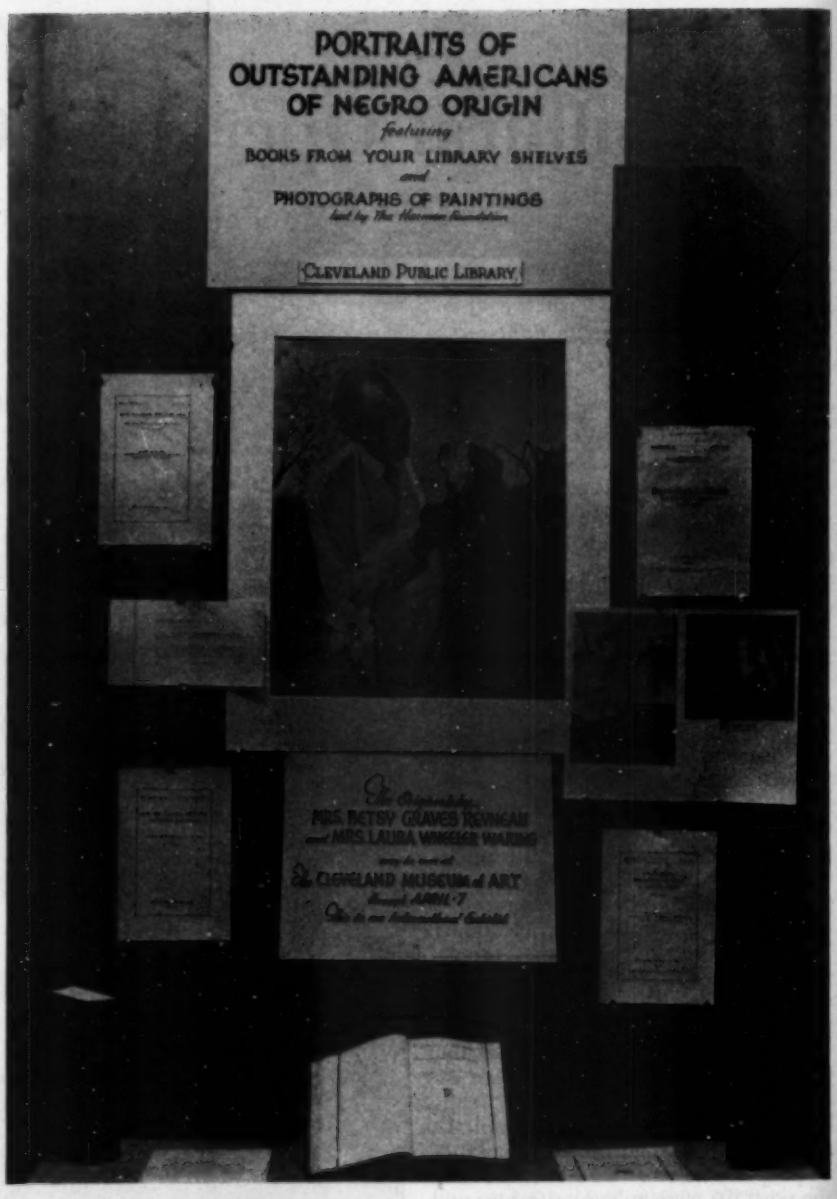
It seems to me that the project I am going to describe belongs partly in the former category, partly in the latter. Cleveland became acquainted with it really when it had attained full bloom. It was on March 6, 1946, that the exhibit, *Portraits of Outstanding Americans of Negro Origin,* available under the auspices of the Harmon Foundation, opened in the Cleveland Museum of Art, and until April 7 Clevelanders had the opportunity to view some of the most remarkable portraits of our time. To say simply that it was an exhibit of remarkable portraits really conveys little of what it was, or of the impact which it had on the thousands of people who saw it. At the root of the portraits were an explosive idea and a dynamic personality; at the root of the Cleveland exhibit were the deep and selfless devotion to a cause of at least one person, and the willingness of many to work together to make one more big step towards the achievement of human brotherhood through loving understanding.

The portraits in the exhibit were painted by Betsy Graves Reyneau and Laura Wheeler Waring. Mrs. Reyneau had been in Europe for fourteen years prior to the beginning of World War II. During that time she had seen Fascism grow, and she had fought that growth with all the intensity characteristic of her nature. At the end of those fourteen years, she left a flaming Europe and came back to her native country, thinking that she had put an ocean between herself and the theory of the "master race." Then she went South and realized that she had not left that theory behind, that it was thriving on the soil of her own country. She vowed then to set brush to canvas only to paint the portraits of America's Negro citizens, and this she has done. The first of these which she painted, was the beautiful head of a young Negro boy, a gardener on an estate where she was visiting, a portrait called simply "Pri-



One of the exhibit panels. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune is pictured in the center

vate Edward Lee." No one who has seen this portrait can ever forget the beauty, the simplicity, and the dignity, of that half-turned head. It was this portrait which impressed George Washington Carver so favorably that he consented to sit for Mrs. Reyneau after having refused for a long time to have his portrait painted. And again this portrait of Carver is the first and only portrait of a Negro to be accepted by the Smithsonian Institute. It was presented to the Institute by Henry Wallace, who was at that time vice-president of the United States. It, too, is a portrait memorable for its simplicity, sincerity and the power which it has, to convey a feeling for Carver's great soul. The sensitive hands curved around a lily tells as much of the man as the gentle, infinitely kind face bent over it. There are twenty-one other portraits besides these two, by Mrs. Reyneau, and seven by Laura Wheeler Waring, herself an outstanding Negro artist who was invited by Mrs. Reyneau to participate with her in the project. Included in the exhibit are portraits of James Weldon Johnson, Paul Robeson, Marion Anderson, Mary Bethune, W. E. B. DuBois, A. Philip Randolph, and many others, all of them adding up to an impressive demonstration of the great contributions made to every phase of American life by Negro men and women.



Mrs. Reyneau's memorable portrait of the late Dr. George W. Carver forms the center of this panel. Carver said it was the one "he had always waited for."

Chain Reactions Set Up

The exhibit itself was a great thing, but perhaps just as great was the "chain reaction" which it set off in the minds and hearts of Cleveland's citizens, and the repercussions which spread out from the Art Museum, where it was housed, to other agencies and institutions of the city.

Behind any project which has as much human warmth and value as this one had, there is usually some person, or persons, who is the beating heart of the enterprise. In the case of this exhibit, it would be easy to single out the person who put her whole soul, first into bringing the exhibit to Cleveland, then into making it as widely significant as possible, and now finally, into working to get the exhibit seen in as many cities in this country as she will be able to reach. That person is Mrs. Bella Taylor McKnight. It was in 1944 that she first conceived the idea of bringing the exhibit of portraits to Cleveland in connection with the observance of the seventieth anniversary of the Friendly Inn Settlement. However, bringing it at that time did not prove to be possible, and when she realized the magnitude of the project she carried the idea on to the Art Museum. Mrs. Russell Swiler, president of the Friendly Inn Board, was enthusiastically in favor of the project, and both William Milliken, Director of the museum, and Henry Sayles Francis, curator of paintings there, gave their sympathetic help to the great enterprise of making the exhibit a real success.

The Art Museum itself was, of course, the focal point of the community activity which was engendered by the exhibit. There was, probably, more of this community-wide activity in connection with this particular exhibit than there has been with any other. There was a universal appeal about the whole idea which touched dozens of different agencies not only in Cleveland, but throughout Ohio as well.

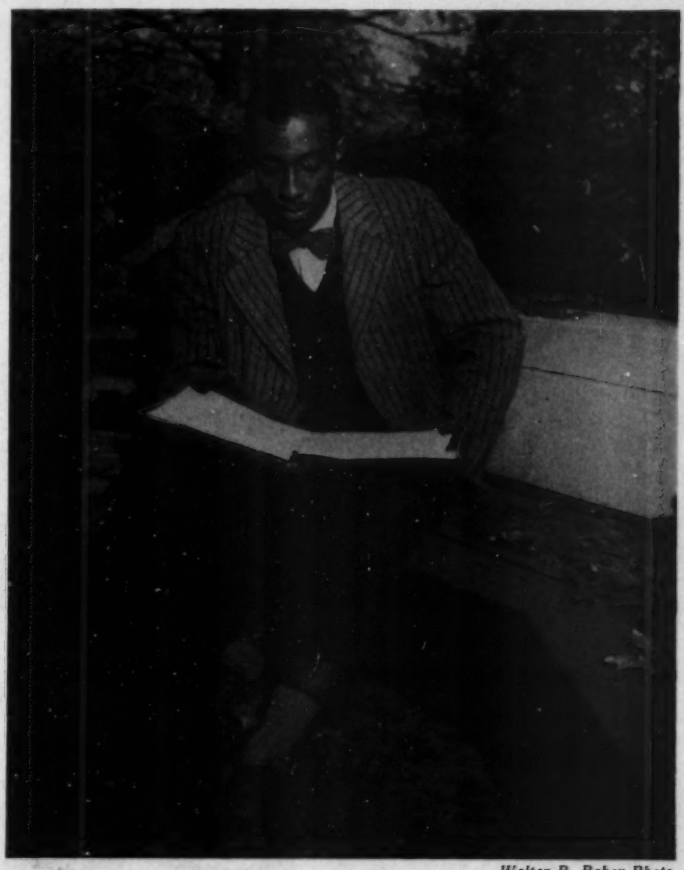
Among the many groups in Cleveland which worked to make the exhibit as widely effective as possible were the Y.W.C.A., through Miss Abbie Graham, head of its Adult Education Department; the Cleveland Church Federation; the School of Applied Social Science at Western Reserve University, where Dr. Grace Coyle had her classes do a project in connection with it; the Group Work Council of the Welfare Federation; the Cleveland Board of Education; the Catholic Sisters' Col-

(Continued on page 380)

Negro Veteran at Sarah Lawrence

Garvall Booker is the Negro veteran enrolled at Sarah Lawrence College. This twenty-one-year-old Washington-born student is one of thirty-six ex-GIs now studying at this exclusive girls' school in Bronxville, N. Y. Sarah Lawrence has had Negro students in the past and two colored girls are enrolled this year.

The genial and alert Booker is enthusiastic about the school and students, and thinks the able faculty and progressive curriculum offer a fellow a fine opportunity for a good education. Booker is pursuing pre-medical work and plans to study medicine either at Columbia or Howard. His biology professor reports that Booker's work in that area is "absolutely first class." Classes at Sarah Lawrence are small, never exceeding ten or twelve students, and are conducted as discussion groups, which gives both students and teachers an opportunity for delightful companionship.



Walter B. Baker Photo

Garvall Booker studies his notebook on the leaf-strewn bench near one of the dormitories.

Walter B. Baker Photo

Garvall Booker and his fellow students, John Miller and Alan Mannings, indulge in a friendly chat in the game-room of the veterans lounge.

Before going to Sarah Lawrence, Booker had attended the DeWitt Clinton high school, where he was captain of the Service League and vice-president of the Histrionic Society, Columbia university, and the University of Florence in Italy. He spent eighteen months as technical staff sergeant with the 92nd Division overseas and distinguishing himself by winning the Bronze Star Medal, the Purple Heart, and the Theatre Ribbon with three stars.

Booker lives in New York City with his mother, Mrs. Annette Booker. His father is dead.

Wide World Photo

SAINTLY NEGRO OF PERU

Martin de Porres was born in Lima, Peru, on December 9, 1579, son of the Spaniard Don Juan de Porres and the freed Negro woman, a native of Panama, Anna Velasquez. He died in Lima on November 3, 1639.

He spent two years in a primary school in Santiago de Guayquil and at the age of twelve was placed with a surgeon in Lima. At the age of twenty-two he became a member of the Dominican Order, receiving the holy habit of a Dominican Tertiary—the white tunic, the black scapular, and the black mantle—and nine years later he became a regular lay brother.

Martin de Porres was the friend of the poor and the afflicted and marvelous cures were attributed to him. After his death, the Archbishop of Lima wrote petitioning the Holy See for the beatification of Martin de Porres. Pope Clement IX gave a favorable ear to these petitions. On July 17, 1836, Pope Gregory XVI published the decree of approbation, and on August 8, 1837, the same Sovereign Pontiff signed the Apostolic Letters of beatification. "Then on September 10, 1837, the humble Dominican Negro lay Brother, Martin de Porres, was solemnly proclaimed a Blessed Servant of God with enthusiastic rejoicing and heartfelt thanksgiving throughout the whole Catholic world."

Top, olive trees, now dead, but kept standing, were among fruit trees planted by Blessed Martin de Porres in the arid soil on the outskirts of Lima, Peru. The trees were planted to satisfy the needs of the poor and to help them avoid the temptation of robbing the gardens round about. At left, a painting of Blessed Martin de Porres in Santo Domingo church, Lima. It is a copy of a painting made by Merino, the great Peruvian painter of the 19th century, and depicts two thieves to whom Blessed Martin gave shelter while they were being hunted by the police. He made them lie down on his bed and according to legend they became invisible.

(Other pictures on page 378)

The Magazine Front

Acme

FORUM SPEAKER — *Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner, vice-principal and professor of economics at Fourah Bay college, West Africa, speaks on colonial Africa at the opening session of the 1946 Herald Tribune Forum on Current Affairs, on October 28.*

TRUE: *The Man's Magazine*, November, 1946

"How do Negroes feel about being rejected in their native land? Are Negroes bitter? Are they afraid? Do they hate whites?" Richard Wright answers these questions ("How Jim Crow Feels") "by merely relating what it felt like to be a Negro in the South in 1940." Wright had spent the summer of 1940 on vacation in Mexico. When he took the train north from Mexico City, he found himself in a coach with American whites, Mexicans, Germans, and Spaniards as mere people riding a train, but once they reached the Texas border and the land of the free the races were separated.

Wright was placed in the jim-crow coach. "Soon the custom official came through" to examine his baggage. Noticing Wright's typewriter and books, he was baffled. That made him a preacher or a teacher, for there was no such thing as a Negro writer listed in this Southerner's mind. And to him Wright was just *boy*. When he discovered that Wright had been born in Mississippi, the custom official opened up affably with, "I knew you was a southern nigger."

While waiting for a train the next morning in San Antonio, a white man propelled himself up in a wheel chair and began shamelessly to finger the texture of Wright's tweed suit. "Boy, where'd you get that suit?" he asked. "He presumed that there was nothing in my life that he was bound to respect." Riding in a jim-crow coach from New Orleans to Natchez, Wright found himself out of cigarettes, but when he expressed intent to buy them in the diner the Negro porter warned him that that was impossible. A Negro could not enter the diner—not even to buy cigarettes.

In the hot, dirty jim-crow coach riding toward Birmingham a fat white man smoking a cigar and wearing a black hat pushed his way through the coach mumbling, at sight of the sleeping Negroes, "Niggers sleeping . . . Niggers sleeping." He was merely walking amidst an inferior form of life and making a comment out loud."

The next morning Wright ordered breakfast from the diner to be served at his seat, but he had to wait more than two hours for service because the white soldiers in the next coach did not like the idea of a waiter taking breakfast back to a nigger in the jim-crow coach.

"What I have been describing is a daily form of civil war that pervades all the relations of blacks and whites in the South. . . . Yet such practices are possible only in a semi-feudal society where the master-slave relationship has traditional and moral backing."

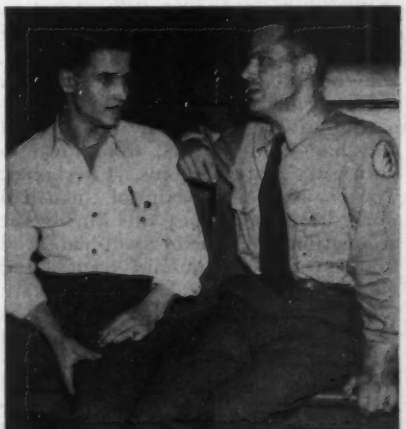
THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, November 2, 1946

Hodding Carter ("Chip on Our Shoulder") complains that the North is always eager to offer the South the disservice of its advice. He draws parallels between the violent attacks of the Abolitionists, who had Right on their side, and the present-day criticism of northern liberals who have the Left on theirs. The Abolitionists unified the South and the "ferment for change boiled away in the national stew." The liberal spirit in the South today is "in danger of being similarly dissipated."

Carter contends that when northern liberals inveigh against political charlatans like Bilbo and Rankin they provide southern demagogues with ammunition and therefore defeat their own purposes. "They [Southerners] scream of lopsided persecution. It may be an unjustifiable complaint, but a sick man detects symptoms where none exists, and the . . . South is still sick, socially, economically and politically, its condition aggravated by pride, a persecution complex and a traditional defensiveness."

He attributes this Southern grudge to political and emotional resentment, stark fear, pride, and economic antagonism. Southerners suspect anything that issues from the North. Federal legislation and intervention is regarded as a Yankee device for the promotion of miscegenation and Negro domination, and this fear revitalizes the Klan and "motivates the tendency to shift blame for any interracial friction upon the outside." The South he adds has no monopoly on discrimination. Look at Harlem, Detroit, or Chicago's South Side. "Take a Negro nursemaid with your family on a motor trip through Ohio, as we did this summer, and count for yourself the number of hotels and restaurants which turn away that nurse from bed or board. In the deep South . . . this wouldn't happen to a Negro nurse accompanying a family."

He concludes that centuries old prejudices and superstitions cannot be up-



Acme

HATE GROUP — *James R. Childers, (left) 17, who was arrested and charged with assaulting an Atlanta, Ga., Negro on October 28. He is talking with Homer L. Loomis, Jr., former Broadway playboy, and secretary of the Columbians, an anti-Semitic, anti-Negro hate group which out-Klans the Klan.*

rooted over night, especially by outsiders, and that northern attacks merely weaken the efforts of southern progressives. "In the long run, this much is certain: A higher income level in the South will inevitably eliminate most of the frictional competition among the submarginal whites and Negroes of the South."

NUEVOS RUMBOS (New Paths)

Negro teachers of Spanish will find good supplementary reading material for their classes in this 28-page Afro-Cuban monthly published at Obrapía 59, Habana, Cuba, and edited by Gabriel Arango Valdes. The magazine, in addition to contributed articles, has such regular features as a woman's page, a society, a musical, and a theatrical section, a page of comment on current affairs and an editorial page. The magazine is illustrated and printed on nice glossy paper. In the July issue, for example, Juan Pastrana interviews the famous Afro-Cuban sculptor Ramos Blanco and contributes a sketch of Don Juan Gualberto Gomez, famous mulatto statesman. The August issue carries both an article and an editorial on the Monroe, Ga., lynching; a sketch of Rafael Serra, great Cuban patriot; and a two-page review of Ann Petry's *The Street* by Arturo G. Dorticós.

LA VERITE (November 9)

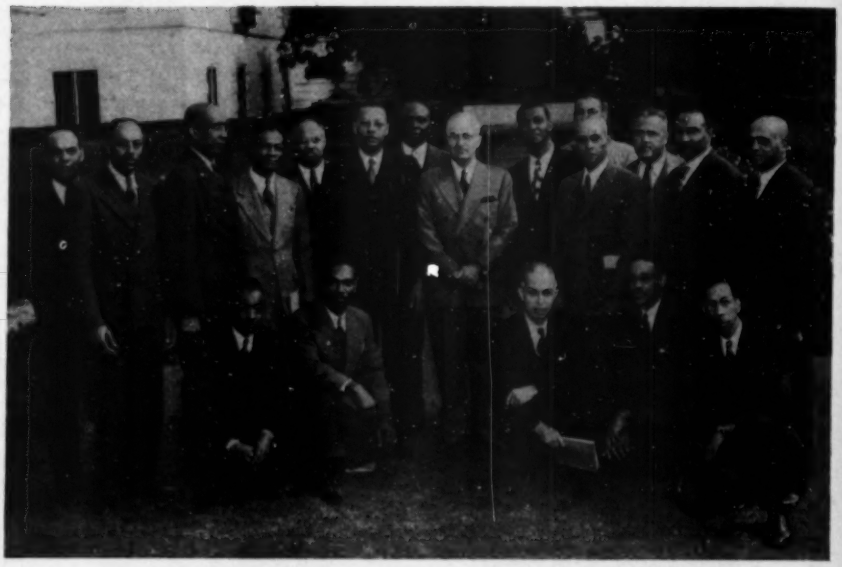
Some Senegalese tirailleurs were tried at Dakar last year. Their crime? They had refused to obey military orders. Why did they rebel? Because they had been corrupted by German propaganda, said the government prosecutor.

Thus Francis Njie ("The Massacre of Tiaroye") writes about the notorious massacre of Senegalese tirailleurs at Tiaroye, about three miles from Dakar, and the farcical trial of the survivors.

These men had been promised repatriation after the war, but instead they had been shuttled from town to town in France—Fréjus, Cherbourg, Toulon, Nantes. "Many of them had worked for French peasants during the occupation and some of them had saved from 25 to 50 thousand francs, and sometimes even more." Their constant worry was how to collect these savings and their mustering out pay. But all they got was the run around.

In Dakar they thought the farce had gone far enough. Not wishing to leave the city without their money, they used a chance visit of General Dagnan to extract from him a written promise to pay them before they left their barracks at Tiaroye. Nije notes that this was extremely annoying to the generals and the commanding officer and they all agreed that a couple of volleys would bring these fellows to their senses. Colonel Leberre gave the order to fire and one night French marines, infantrymen, and artillery opened up a fusillade on the sleeping men. Seventeen were killed and some forty wounded. The rest were tried for mutiny.

Naturally, this insensate massacre of unarmed men had to be justified. The defense argument was mutiny. And Colonel Leberre, who had ordered the shooting, declared that never in his twenty-five years of commanding Senegalese troops had he seen such undisciplined men as those at Tiaroye. They must have been corrupted by the Germans. Marius Moutet, defense attorney, said no Frenchman could recall this crime without blushing with shame; yet the survivors were condemned to five years at hard labor and military disgrace. This judgment has not been reversed and the men are still in prison. These exploited victims of French imperialism are counting upon the working masses of the world, especially the French, to free them from the yoke of colonialism.



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NEGRO EDUCATORS MEET WITH TRUMAN—*On October 22 Negro educators called on President Harry S. Truman to ask the chief executive to aid in securing equalized educational opportunities for all American youths. The plea was made by the conference of presidents of land-grant colleges for Negroes.*

LA VERITE (November 10)

R. Daniel explains ("The Administration Robs Colonial Soldiers") that the massacre of Tiaroye is not unique. He mentions the trouble involving the landing of repatriated soldiers at Guadeloupe and the uprising of Malagasy troops at Djibouti. Yet the French press has remained silent about these incidents, preferring to play up the affair at Saint-Tropez with its much more subtle manifestations of racism.

One juridic subterfuge which permits legal robbery of former colonial prisoners of war is the "repatriation card." These men are denied the card, given to prisoners and *déportés*, which gives access to various veterans' benefits, such as the thousand francs mustering-out pay, double food ration, a month's pay, good shoes and clothing, and free medical care. Colonials have been denied this advantage on the ground that as former Nazi prisoners in the *Front Stalags* they are not really "repatriates." They have been led to believe that everything will be all right once they return home, but many of them have lived in France ever since before the war and wish to remain here. And the law is not applicable to the colonies, where the governors are kept from promulgating it.

Daniel points out that such acts are not the result of general administrative incompetence but are part of a deliberate scheme to return those natives contaminated by European life to the colonial slavery of forced labor and the whip.

FOR THE TOURIST

This booklet—*The Negro Motorist Green-Book, 1946* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 938 St. Nicholas Ave. 75¢)— is packed with useful information. Classified lists of hotels, tourist homes, taverns, restaurants, etc.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE *of the Bayonne, N. J., branch. Seated, L to R, J. T. Gregory, vice-chairman of the executive board; Robert P. Jones, branch treasurer; Mrs. Helen Crawford, secretary of the membership committee; Mrs. Annie Fitch, Mrs. D. R. Jones, chairman program committee; Mrs. Sarah Smith, and Mrs. L. Fulwood, chairman membership drive. Standing, L to R, Dr. D. G. Morris, branch president; Richard Gayle, R. G. Cuyler, membership drive treasurer; Rev. C. H. S. Watkins, first vice-president; Robert Reddick, John Fulwood, and Clarence Gordon, Sr., chairman of the board of directors.*

LYNCHERS INDICTED

FEDERAL GRAND JURY INDICTS SIX: On October 18 a federal grand jury brought indictments against the six men named by Albert Harris, Jr., as being members of the mob which beat young Harris and lynched his cousin John Jones. The indictment has charged chief of police B. Geary Gannt, deputy sheriffs Charles Edwards and O. H. Haynes, Jr., along with Samuel Maddry, Sr., H. E. Perry, and W. D. Perkins, of depriving the Negroes of their constitutional rights by "causing them to be released from jail and handed over to a mob which inflicted a beating upon both."

The indictment followed an investigation by the FBI at the request of the civil rights' section of the Department of Justice, before which Albert Harris, Jr., had presented his testimony last August after his escape from the mob.

Both young Harris and his father, who are now living in the midwest, made the trip to Monroe, La., in protective custody of the U. S. Government, since Monroe is notorious for its extreme racial prejudice and violence. After their testimony, the Harrises returned to their home.

LABOR PROGRAM

COMMITTEE DRAFTS PROGRAM: At a recent meeting in New York City, the National Labor Committee of the NAACP drafted a seven-point labor program to be executed by the committee through cooperation with NAACP labor secretary, Clarence Mitchell.

Objectives of the program are as follows:

1. Elimination of discriminatory employment practices in industry and government which result in refusal to hire colored workers, wage differentials based on race, unequal opportunities for training and promotion, unfair dismissals and segregation in employment because of race.

2. Greater participation of colored persons in the trade union movement.

3. Ending of segregated locals, auxiliaries, and other discriminatory practices in labor unions.

4. Passage of state and federal FEPC legislation.

5. Inclusion of non-discrimination clauses in state and federal laws pertaining to the employment of persons in the execution of government contracts.

6. Joining with labor unions for the enactment of legislation favored by labor and for the repealing of unfavorable legislation.

7. Expanding and improving opportunities for vocational training on the basis of non-segregation.

The committee voted to take action to prevent discrimination against minority workers in the USES when it is returned to the states on November 15. Plans for the full utilization of colored building construction workers in the current veterans housing program and ways of implementing an NAACP national convention resolution calling for support of the AFL and CIO drives in the South were also discussed.

Personnel of the National Labor Committee is as follows: Frank Fenton, AFL director of organization; Boris Shiskin, AFL economist; Nelson Cruikshank, AFL director of social insurance; Walter Reuther, president UAW-CIO; George L. P. Weaver, director CIO committee against discrimination; Willard S. Townsend, president UTSE-CIO; Reverend Francis J. Gilligan, St. Paul, Minn.; Alfred Baker Lewis, Greenwich, Conn.; Palmer Weber, research director CIO-PAC; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; and Charles Houston, Washington, D. C.

GIFTS AND LIFE MEMBERSHIPS

FROM CHURCHES: The Third Baptist church of San Francisco, Calif., the oldest Negro church west of the Rocky Mountains, donated $1,000 to the Association to be applied to the legal defense fund to help the recent victims of police brutality and mob violence.

In New York City the sesquicentennial commission of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church gave $200 in support of the work against mob violence. In the covering letter the SCAMEZC said:

"We rejoice in and heartily approve the great work you are doing to bring justice and fairplay to those called to suffer mob violence, and offer this

PANCA *Mrs. Lillie Gorman brought in more than 500 members during the recent membership campaign of the Cleveland, Ohio, branch.*

check with a prayer that God may continue to bless the great work in which you are engaged."

FROM INDIVIDUALS: Rabbi Milton Steinberg of New York City, on the Jewish new year, mailed the Association a check as his personal contribution to the fight for democracy.

William B. Redmond II of Franklin, Tenn., gave $100 out of gratitude for the work done by the NAACP in fighting for his admission to the University of Tennessee school of pharmacy. Although Mr. Redmond was not admitted, the Tennessee legislature did pass a scholarship-law which later made it possible for him to attend an out-of-state university.

LIFE MEMBERS: Three recent life members added to the Association are Vincent Sheean, Joseph Kaplan of Boston, and Kivie Kaplan of Chestnut Hill.

GI MEMBERSHIPS: During October the national office received more than a thousand memberships from servicemen at home and abroad. At Fort Benning, Ga., nine hundred and twenty-one men of the 571st Field Artillery Battalion, 25th Infantry, and the 196th Army Ground Forces Band, paid in memberships through the Columbus, Ga., branch. Among the overseas groups reporting are the 573rd Quartermaster Railroad Depot and the 596th Quartermaster Laundry company, which have sent in more than three hundred memberships to date.

NOMINATIONS NOW OPEN

THE SPINGARN MEDAL: Nominations for the Spingarn medal award are now open. Written recommendations for the award should be submitted to the Secretary of the Committee of Award, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, no later than January 1. Such communications should state in detail the achievements of the person recommended for the Spingarn award.

The medal is usually presented to the winner at the NAACP annual conference, with a presentation speech by some distinguished citizen. The Spingarn medalist for 1946 was Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the Association. Other recent winners have been Paul Robeson, William Hastie, Richard Wright, and Charles R. Drew.

MISCELLANEOUS

NEW YORK CANDIDATES QUERIED: Three candidates for the office of attorney general in New York state were asked to state their position on restrictive covenants. The men queried were Nathaniel L. Goldstein, Republican; Anthony J. DiGiovanna, Democrat; and Benjamin J. Davis, Communist.

STATE GOVERNORS AND EMPLOYMENT: Thirty-seven governors have been asked to support the NAACP-sponsored anti-discrimination standards in the state employment services. The request was made by Clarence Mitchell, labor secretary, because of what he has described as the "dismal failure of the U. S. Department of Labor to require adequate standards againt discrimination."

After November 15 the Department of Labor began giving out forty-two million dollars to the states for operating employment services, yet it is apparently afraid to give those definite instructions necesary to keep discrimination at a minimum in the local offices.

The standards proposed by the NAACP would eliminate segregated offices, forbid acceptance of discriminatory orders, make it mandatory that all referrals be on the basis of qualifications rather than race, and require that all hiring for the agency's own staff be on a non-discriminatory basis.

GI PETITIONS: In October a petition for clemency was submitted to the Secretary of War on behalf of a former Negro serviceman, Samuel H. Chance, who had been found guilty of desertion by a general court-martial at MacDill Field, Florida, on August 9. Chance was found guilty and sentenced to five years at hard labor, to be followed by a dishonorable discharge.

The petition pointed out that though this GI had been absent from military duty for over a year, he was not responsible since he had been a victim of amnesia. Chance last remembered having been in Philadelphia in 1944 and when he found himself a year later he was confined to a ward in Bellevue hospital in New York City. He remembered nothing during this interval and when found he was in a dazed and stunned condition. His case was diagnosed as amnesia.

DEATH SENTENCE COMMUTED: The death sentence levied against former serviceman McKinley Moore has been commuted to thirty years imprisonment. Moore had been sentenced by a general court-martial sitting in Leipzig, Germany, on June 8, 1945, for alleged rape. The NAACP legal department applied to President Truman and the Secretary of War for clemency for the petitioner on the ground that Moore was the victim of erroneous identification, that his conviction was contrary to law, and that Moore had been denied due process of law.

SAILOR RECEIVES HONORABLE DISCHARGE: Samuel R. Cassius, whose protest against segregation and discrimination in the Navy led to his being discharged as "undesirable," has received

WOODARD'S ATTACKER ACQUITTED

On November 6 a white jury in a U. S. District Court in Columbia, S. C., returned a verdict of "Not guilty" in the case of policeman Lynwood Shull for the blinding of Isaac Woodard last February.

PANCA *Mrs. Dovie D. Sweet of the Cleveland, Ohio, branch brought in more than 500 members during the recent membership campaign.*

word from the Navy Department that his "undesirable discharge" will be changed to a "certificate of discharge under honorable conditions." Cassius was represented before the Naval Board of Review by Leslie Perry of the Washington bureau of the NAACP.

What the Branches Are Doing

MICHIGAN: The first of the DETROIT branch's four restrictive covenant cases now before the State Supreme Court was argued in Michigan's highest tribunal in October. The case was that of *Benjamin J. Sipes vs. Orsel McGhee* and involved a home in the Seebaldt and King subdivisions near Tireman avenue on the westside. The restrictive covenant was upheld in the lower court by decision of Circuit Judge Guy Miller.

The branch was represented in the Supreme Court hearings by attorneys Willis M. Graves and Francis Dent. The UAW-CIO, the Detroit Jewish Community Council, the Wolverine Bar Association, the National Lawyers Guild, and the American Jewish Congress also filed briefs *amicus curiae* (a friend of the court).

The justices announced that they were taking the case under advisement, and requested additional briefs on questions raised by the attorneys. It is believed that a decision can be expected in February or March.

The branch has nine restrictive covenant cases in Detroit and all will be carried to the State Supreme Court and the United States Supreme Court, if necessary. "We are determined to wipe out Detroit's ghetto walls," declares Edward Swan, executive secretary; "and we know that the community is behind us in this effort."

On October 21 the branch announced a drive for $15,000 to carry on its normal work and its restrictive covenant fight. In outlining plans for the drive, president Charles A. Hill and executive secretary, Edward Swan, said that the 50¢ per member kept by the branch from the one and two-dollar memberships was not adequate to pay for the services provided by the branch to the community.

To make up the difference $25 contributions are being sought from clubs, businessmen, organizations, fraternities, sororities, churches, and unions. These contributions are to be the basis for an annual sustaining fund for the Detroit branch. The drive is limited to three weeks.

The branch has announced that it will take no further action in the case of alleged police brutality filed by James Hereford, since the complaint was withdrawn by the complainant without the knowledge of the branch.

Mr. Hereford, in filing his complaint with the branch, alleged that he had been brutally beaten by the police on August 31, after having been detained for jay walking. He requested the branch at the time to take action. When the branch requested an investigation by the police department, it was infored that Mr. Hereford had withdrawn his charges.

In October the Detroit YMCA presented the branch with another example of racial discrimination when George R. Medlicott, membership secretary, ordered Robert Simms from the gymnasium floor solely because he was a Negro.

Simms, a student at the Detroit Institute of Technology, had been invited to play basketball by some of his white classmates. It was while engaged in this activity, one available to all students of the college, that he was ordered from the floor.

Medlicott, in stating the policy of the "Y", is reported to have said that "the policy is to keep the races separated." The branch called together a delegation of citizens to meet with Ralph Hileman, executive secretary of the "Y", to request a change in the undemocratic policy of the Detroit YMCA.

NORTH CAROLINA: The RALEIGH branch reports that Atty. F. H. Carnage has been successful in applying the opinion of the U. S. Supreme Court delivered in the Morgan case to that of the Rev. J. Leon Pridgen, a ministerial student of that city.

The defendant, Rev. Pridgen, was on his way to Norfolk, Va., from Raleigh, N. C. When he boarded a bus of the Carolina Coach Company in Raleigh on Saturday, September 28, he took a seat in the front of the bus. The driver, A. F. Collier, asked Pridgen to move to a seat in the rear; but the defendant refused, pointing out that since he possessed an interstate ticket, he was entitled to a seat in any section of the bus. At this point a city policeman was asked to arrest Pridgen on charges of disorderly conduct. Pridgen then turned the case over to his lawyer, Fred J. Carnage.

Atty. Carnage used the following argument in the case: Interstate passengers traveling via motor coach between North and South or East and West may pass through Virginia on through lines, and that since the large buses have comforts approaching those of pullmans, it would be inconvenient on long trips to reseat passengers.

After solicitor Alfonso Lloyd had investigated Carnage's argument, he concluded that the state could not obtain a conviction of Pridgen on the disorderly conduct charge because of insufficient evidence. When the prosecutor told the judge that he would be unwilling to prosecute, the court took a nolpros.

OHIO: The membership campaign of the CLEVELAND branch was a great success, with an increase to 10,000 members and more than $19,000 collected. Two workers, Mrs. Lillie Gorman and Mrs. Dovie D. Sweet, brought in more than 500 members each. Both women are ten times Pancas, the Cleveland quota of which was 500 members.

PENNSYLVANIA: The PHILADELPHIA branch is cooperating with the Philadelphia Committee to Protest the British Terror in Palestine by circularizing the committee's position among its branch membership. This gesture is one phase of the branch's program to cooperate more closely with other minority groups.

Mrs. Elizabeth K. Young, membership secretary of the branch, has pointed out that there are 9,000 members from 1945 who have failed to renew for 1946. She also revealed that if these nine thousand renewed the local branch would become the largest in the country. In passing out membership certificates at the conclusion of a membership meeting, Charles A. Shorter, executive secretary, emphasized the wish of the branch to gain the number one position in membership.

Executives of Gimbel's department store at 9th and Market streets announced in October that Negro workers had been upgraded to the jobs of cashiers and clerks. The company's policy was announced after Negro workers had been given the new classification.

The committee on fair employment practices in department stores, organized a year ago, has worked untiringly to bring about advancement for Negro workers in department stores.

Agencies cooperating with the committee are the American Friends, American Jewish Congress, Armstrong Association, Committee on Racial Equality, Council for Equal Job Opportunity, Fellowship House, Fellow-

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Three weeks' notice is required for change of address. When requesting a change please furnish an address stencil from a recent wrapper if you can. Changes cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

ship of Reconciliation, Friends Committee on Race Relations, Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, UPAC, West Philadelphia Civic League, Germantown YWCA, and the Southwest Belmont YWCA.

Twelve out of a total of fifteen congressional candidates answered the branch questionnaire regarding their attitude on legislative enactments which might affect minorities. Among those who failed to return the questionnaire or any correspondence pertaining to it, despite requests, were Governor Edward H. Martin; Hardie Scott, Republican from the third district; and George W. Sarbacker, Jr., Republican from the fourth district.

The following congressional candidates filled out and returned their questionnaires: William A. Barrett (D), James Gallagher (R), first district; William T. Granahan (D), Robert N. McGarvey (R), second district; Albert S. Townsend (D), third district; John E. Sheridan (D) Francis J. Mahoney (D) third dintrict; John E. Sheridan (D), Francis J. Mahoney (R), Dr. John K. Rice (UC), fourth district; Herbert J. McGlenchey (D), and Hugh Scott, Jr. (R), sixth district. Joseph F. Guffey was the only senatorial candidate to return the questionnaire.

Object of the questionnaire was to find out each candidate's position on FEPC, the poll tax, anti-lynch law, housing, the national health bill, fair labor standards, social security, and the elimination of filibusters.

Two cases of police attacks upon innocent citizens, one a returned veteran, have been brought to the attention of the branch. The first attack took place on October 5 when a policeman stopped Thomas Jackson, who was on his way home, and accused him of being the man who had snatched a woman's pocketbook. When Jackson, an honorably discharged GI, replied that he worked every day and didn't have to snatch pocketbooks the policeman took offense and began to club Jackson. He then put him under arrest. After eight stitches had been taken in Jackson's head at the Presbyterian hospital, he was arraigned before a magistrate and discharged. But the officer was allowed to go free although he had administered an unmerciful beating to Jackson. The case is now being investigated by Eugene Clark, branch legal adviser.

The second attack involved Willie Fields, the driver of an ice truck. Fields was unloading blocks of ice from his truck on Susquehanna avenue on October 9 when an east-bound trolley attempted to pass after the motorman had told Fields that he could make it. But the trolley punctured one of the truck tires in attempting to pass, and while Fields and the motorman were discussing the accident in friendly terms a policeman walked up and demanded to see Field's license.

While Fields was producing his driver's card, the policeman is reported to have turned to the motorman with the insulting "This is one of those smart niggers!" Then the officer told the truck driver that he was under arrest. When Fields asked if he might make a phone call to ask that someone be sent to take charge of the truck and to finish his deliveries, the policeman, instead of granting permission, grabbed Fields, tearing his shirt, and took out his blackjack and began beating him about the arms. The policeman then took out his revolver and struck the defenseless man in the face, all the while reminding him of another "nigger" who had killed a cop.

Fields says that as they were going down the steps in the police station the officer deliberately tripped him, causing him to fall down a whole flight of stairs. Thomas Reed is acting as counsel for Fields.

The branch, through its health committee, is going to investigate the racial policies of local medical schools. A housing counselling service will be set by the branch at 260 South 15th street in the very near future.

VIRGINIA: Eleventh annual session of

Press Association

IN THE NEWS — *Top, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt receiving the first annual award in the field of interracial relations established by the Good Neighbor Federation of New York City. Founded in 1905, the GNF serves the East Harlem communities. President Edmund A. Prentis of the GNF is shown presenting the award to Mrs. Roosevelt. Bottom, Aurelius Scott (center, hand upraised) tells the Fulton county Democratic executive committee in Atlanta, Ga., that he will withdraw from the race for county coroner. After his withdrawal was accepted the committee reversed itself and expunged the action from the records.*

the Virginia state conference of branches was held in Richmond November 9-10 at the Leigh Street Methodist church. Dr. Archibald J. Carey, Jr., of Chicago, Ill., was the main speaker. Conference theme was "The Negro Must Fight for Democracy for Himself."

TEXAS: This report comes from Mrs. Lulu B. White, executive secretary of the HOUSTON branch. About a month ago a very respectable man was killed here by a bus driver. It in the custom for bus drivers in Houston to carry pistols, and Negroes are the usual victims of their beatings and killings. This man, Berry Branch, was an old, crippled Negro who had tried to stop an argument between a bus driver and a 17-year-old Negro boy over the payment of a fare. The boy claimed he had paid; the driver said he had not. What Branch did was simply to walk up and attempt to pay the fare for the boy. The bus driver shot him twice and he died.

The Houston branch sponsored a mass funeral, with both whites and Negroes in attendance and driving in the funeral cortege.

After this unjustified murder, the branch went to the mayor, the city council, the district attorney, the bus company, and the director of utilities in protest against armed bus drivers. Several of the labor unions, both CIO and AFL, two men from the merchants' association, the National Alliance of Postal Employees, and the NMU did offer cooperation in our drive.

The branch then got out fifty thousand circulars, which were distributed about town. "WE MOURN BERRY BRANCH, SENIOR, 1881-1946, SHOT BY A NANCE STREET BUS DRIVER, DIED SEPTEMBER 20. All come to his funeral. Come in memoriam—in protest to the cause of his death. Mt. Zion Church, Wednesday, September 25, 8:00 P. M." After this was done, the daily papers picked up the story, and they received many letters of protest from white readers against the crime. Some favored disarming the bus drivers and supported the branch in its protest. Others were opposed.

It was the first time in the history of Houston that such a demonstration had included white people, and it was therefore smeared as a "red movement."

Two reecnt state conferences meeting in Warren, Ohio, and Jackson, Michigan (October 25-27), have charged both political parties and legislative candidates in their respective states with the responsibility for enacting fair employment practice legislation in Ohio and Michigan. Legislative programs of action were outlined for branches in both states.

The Ohio conference was presided over by Attorney Maynard Dickerson, and Dr. J. L. Leach conducted the sessions of the Michigan conference. Speakers at the Warren sessions in-

Acme

MIXED CHOIR—*The choir of Father Flanagan's Boys' Town poses for a picture against the background of New York City. Photo was made atop the observation platform of the Empire State building. The choir gave a special concert at Carnegie Hall.*

Press Association

Acme

GEORGIA NEGROPHOBES—*Police in Atlanta, Ga., move in on a group of Columbians and seize the leaders, November 2, as members of the anti-Negro group were staging a demonstration to keep a family of Negroes from moving into the house in left background. At left is a truck containing household goods to be moved into the house. Detectives A. W. Lyle (left) and Henley Wilbur inspect damage done in bombing of a Negro home in Atlanta, instigated by the Columbians.*

cluded Walter White, George L. P. Weaver, Gloster B. Current, DeHart Hubbard, and Mrs. Ruby Hurley. Governor Frank Lausche of Ohio addressed the meeting, advocating a state FEPC and promising to outlaw the KKK. The Republican candidate did not appear. Speakers at the Michigan conference included assistant state prosecutor Joseph L. Bannigan and Dr. Eugene Keyes.

Recognizing this election year as one of the most important in the history of the state and the nation, and the necessity for the NAACP and its branches to appraise candidates on the basis of their records and commitments, the conference adopted the following set of resolutions, given here in part:

"Regardless of party considerations, we charge each political party and legislative candidate with the responsibility of enacting at the earliest possible date an effective fair employment practices act in Ohio. We urge the adoption of a law to make illegal all forms of racial or religious restrictive covenants in instruments dealing with real estate. We urge the adoption of an amendment to the state public schools' act to prohibit practices of segregation by local boards of education. We urge more effective and vigorous enforcement by all law enforcement officials of the criminal provision of the Ohio civil rights statute.

"We urge state legislation in the following fields: public works, workmen's compensation acts, unemployment compensation, equitable benefit legislation for veterans, fair labor laws, and expansion of state hospitals and penal institutions.

"We recommend the employment of a state legislative secretary, to be stationed at Columbus during the sessions of the Ohio legislature, to aid in the accomplishment of these measures. We deplore the U. S. Army's disregard of the Gillem report. We vigorously condemn the action of the War Department in its almost complete curtailment of the voluntary enlistment of Negroes. We urge that Negroes be integrated into all units of the Ohio State Guard. We support the principles of the Wyatt Emergency Housing program.

"We oppose and condemn all forms of racial segregation or discrimination in institutions maintained by public funds. We condemn the increasing practice of local boards of education throughout the state of establishing and extending racial segregation in the public schools. We urge each branch to petition its congressmen and senators to actively support the following legislation: federal aid to education, FEPC, Wagner-Murray health bill, amendment to Fair Labor Standards Act, abolition of poll tax, Wagner-Murray-Dingell social security bill, anti-lynching bill, federal civil rights statute, and to deny seats in Congress to all persons who advocate violation of federal statutes like Senator Bilbo.

"We further urge that the members of the Ohio State Conference of Branches of the NAACP bestir themselves as to their political welfare and register and vote at all elections."

Wide World

CASKET OF DE PORRES *in the former infirmary of the monastery where Blessed Martin lived and died. It contains the pieces of the wooden bed on which he slept and on which he passed away.*

Wide World

PENITENTIAL *cross which Blessed Martin used to place over his shoulder and sometimes make as many as a hundred genuflections while meditating on the passion of Our Lord.*

Book Review

THE NUMBERS GAME

The Policy King. **By Lewis A. H. Caldwell. Chicago: New Vistas Publishing House, 1946. 303pp. $3.00.**

The Policy King, by Lewis A. H. Caldwell, is in several respects an unusual novel. First of all, more than any other novel about Negro life, it deals frankly with a racket which, though widespread, has received less attention in literature than one might expect. Secondly, the ramifications of this racket into the social, economic, and educational problems of Negroes primarily and of others inidentally are handled with a sureness of knowledge which gives the book a tone of realism and verisimilitude. Then, too, there is an attempt at dramatization of the reactions of the attitudes of the several members of a Negro family, each of whom reacts differently to the implications of the policy racket as it affects him, his family, and the racial group to which he belongs. Whatever the success of the author in handling this multi-colored social situation, this is potentially fine dramatic fiction.

The characters most worthy of note are "Pop" Tyler, boss of the racket when the story opens; Joe Marshall, who, with Pop's support, becomes a notable figure only to have his head blown off by henchmen of his predecessor and rival in love; Helen Marshall, Joe's young sister, who by reason of her father's influence is bitterly opposed to anything non-religious and particularly to the policy racket which has sucked in her elder brother; Mrs. Marshall, patient but almost colorless mother of the three young Marshalls; and Jerry Marshall, who becomes the policy king. There are, of course, vari-

ous supporting characters such as the Reverend Stowe, most staunch opponent of all sorts of rackets; Mrs. Schultz, a white woman interested in social service, who gives Helen her chance to become a social reformer; Dave Ruff, big-time undercover racketeer, who gives Jerry his opportunity to become policy king; Mattie, Joe's common-law wife, who assists Jerry in his taking over the racket, and a few more. But all of these are incidental to the three young Marshalls about whom the drama revolves.

Obviously, Caldwell has a thesis, but the emphasis which he gives to the main characters through whom he conveys his message makes it difficult to determine just what he advocates. Through Joe and even more through Jerry it appears that he advocates attainment of economic security at almost any sacrifice of moral principles, while through Helen, mainly, it would appear that he subscribes to the idea that the "good" life is paramount. In fairly gradual stages, Jerry abandons his early opposition to Joe's theory of economic security until he himself becomes its strongest advocate. Indeed, so radically has he changed that at the close of the book he tells Helen:

> Let's hope then . . . that your degree will feed and clothe these people who are now out of work. Let's try to believe that it will solve the economic problem of twelve million Negroes. For a degree you have done this to the black race! . . .

And in answer to Helen's query as to his meanings he says,

> Just this; I mean that only a Negro—a traitor at that—could have written about the policy game. You've told the white man everything about the one phase of Negro life that was puzzling him. You, my own sister, fell for that law-and-order bunk. You're simply a victim of white psychology. . . .

Such statements, together with the general development of the story, suggest that the author subscribes to this type of philosophy; yet Helen comes off with a triumphant defeat of the policy game.

KEEP INFORMED WITH

The Story of Democracy in Action
A Monthly Bulletin of Negro Progress
Published by Carver Features
121 Beekman Ave. Mt. Vernon, N.Y
Subscription $1.00 per year
Sample on request Agents Wanted

Perhaps the two speeches just cited give one key to the difficulty here. The language and action border on the melodramatic.

This, then, is a book with a good story giving the impression of the author's first-hand knowledge of the facts. It suffers only because it is not particularly well-written. Because it fills a place in depiction of Negro life heretofore touched upon only incidentally, it deserves careful reading.

ARTHUR E. BURKE.

Portuguese Brazil

(*Continued from page 366*)

new economic technique and the new social and moral regime." The Indian woman was the "principal element of economic and technical worth." She propagated a vigorous mestizo population and became the basis of the Brazilian family. She gave the settlers new foods, drugs, household remedies, domestic animals; the hammock, coconut oil for women's hair; she taught them tropical hygiene, introducing them to the daily bath, which was so scandalous to Europeans, and gave them a set of traditions "bound up with the development of the child." Chief contribution of the Indian male, on the other hand, was in the development of the backlands (*sertões*). "Our Indian wars," says the author, "were never wars of whites against redskins, but of Christians against buggers."

Because of his nomadic life, his cultural inferiority, his lack of capabilities, the Indian was soon useless in the "system of colonization that was to lay the foundation of Brazilian economy." "Let us leave off our lyricism with regard to the Indian," says Freyre.

Negro Influence

This incapability of the Indian, now fashioned into the legend of his refusal to submit to slavery, explains why African slaves were imported by the millions. Many of these slaves were imported from the areas of advanced African culture. "If they occupied a lower rung, it was due simply to their conditions as slaves. Far from having been mere draft animals and workers with the hoe in the service of agriculture, they fulfilled a civilizing function." From Africa came skilled metallurgists, cloth and soap merchants, and men skilled at cattle-raising and the pasturing of herds. "The truth is: in the slave sheds of Bahia in 1835 there were perhaps more persons who knew how to read and write than up above, in the Big Houses." During the colonial period and the empire, Negroes were the musicians, the altar-boys in the churches, circus acrobats, dentists, barbers, and even teachers of the young. "Happy were those youngsters who learned to read and write with Negro teachers, gentle and kind. They must have endured less than the others, less than those who went to school to the priests, to the friars, to 'pecuniary professors,' or to the public schoolmasters."

"Every Brazilian, even the light-skinned fair-haired one carries about with him on his soul, when not on soul and body alike—for there are many in Brazil with the mongrel mark of the *genipap* [refers to deeply colored stains on the back or buttocks that are held to be a mark of mixed breeding]—the shadow, or at least the birthmark, of the aborigine or the Negro. . . . In our affections, our excessive mimicry, our Catholicism, which so delights the senses, our music, our gait, our speech, our cradle songs—in everything that is a sincere expression of our lives, we almost all of us bear the mark of that influence. Of the female slave or 'mammy' who rocked us to sleep. Who suckled us. Who fed us, mashing our food with her own hands. The influence of the old woman who told us our first tales of ghost and *bicho* [wild animal]. Of the mulatto girl who relieved us of our first *bicho-de-pé* [type of flea that burrows beneath the skin of the foot and lays its eggs there], of a pruriency that was so enjoyable. . . . Of the Negro lad who was our first playmate. . . .

"Not that there exist in the Brazilian as in the Anglo-American, two enemy halves: the white and the black; the master and the slave. By no manner of means. We are two fraternizing halves that are mutually enriched with diverse values and experiences; and when we round ourselves out into a whole, it will not be with the sacrifice of one element to the other."

Consequently, the Negro's contribution to Brazilian civilization was not merely brawn, but very definitely of the spirit and the mind. For many of that countries most illustrious sons are mulattoes and Negroes: great soldiers like Luiz Barbalho and Henrique Dias; great revolutionaries like Antonio Goncales da Cruz and Luiz Ignacio de Azevedo; a great sculptor like Antonio Francisco Lisbôa (O Aleijadinho, "the Little Cripple"); statesmen of the stature of the Baron of Cotegipe and the Viscount of Jequitinhonha; journalists and writers like Machado de Assis and Gonçalves Dias; bishops like Dom Prudencia Gomes and Dom Modesto Vieira; and engineers like André Rebouças and Theodoro Sampaio.

Freyre dissents from the common belief that the Negro corrupted the sexual life of Brazil. The fault lay in the sys-

tem, not the Negro. "Slavery uprooted the Negro from his social and family environment and turned him loose among a strange and frequently a hostile people. In such surroundings, in contact with forces so dissolvent in their effect, it would be absurd to expect of the slave any other deportment than that immoral kind of which he is so commonly accussed. . . . The prostitution that went on within the home was inspired by the white masters. . . . What neither the Portuguese nor the Brazilian ever sacrificed to any other interest whatsoever was the pleasurable cult of Venus. And particularly that of the dusky Venus." Freyre also reminds us that there has never been slavery without sexual depravity. Favorites of the masters were usually the Mina women, "Africans who not only were lighter-skinned, but whose culture and 'domestication' brought them close to the whites," noted for their "wholesome, ingenious, sagacious and affectionate" nature.

This book traces the evolution of Brazilian social life by means of the type of the habitation. The big-house, the *Casa-grande*, of the master as contrasted with the *senzala*, the hut of the slave; the social distance that lay between the owner and the owned, bridged in time by the miscegenation of the plantation; and the influence of sugar cane upon the Brazilian economy and culture. This society was a marvel of accommodation: of the slave to his master, the black man to the white; the son to his father, and the woman to her husband. It was a latifundiary monoculture based upon the backs of Negro slaves. Yet this society never developed any "stratified and exclusive social classes with insurmountable barriers." So fluid were Brazilian class lines that not even the possession of Negro or slave ancestry was an absolute barrier to a man's rise where he had education or wealth.

One can only hint at the richness of the material in this book and the brilliance of its interpretation. Some day, perhaps, when Americans reach maturity on the race problem a great scholar will do an American counterpart of *The Masters and the Slaves*.

About the Author

A word about the author. Now forty-six, Freyre has black hair, greying at the temples, and a fair complexion. In Europe and the United States he is usually mistaken for a Spaniard and sometimes for a Hungarian. He has a ready smile, simple tastes and pleasures, and no "side." His favorite recreations are walking, bicycling, and swimming. In 1941 he married Senhorita Maria Magdalena Guedes Pereira of Rio de Janeiro and now has two children. He did not marry the "coal-black Negress" that Jack Harding insisted he would have to marry in order "to prove his point"—that miscegenation is beneficial.

Freyre's work habits are interesting. He is a hard worker and often works on two or three books at the same time, laboriously writing them out in pencil in a minuscule hand. When working on a book, he rises early and works like a Trappist monk until evening, which he usually devotes to reading. He will spend days and even weeks in the house during these periods, never going out. Unlike most Brazilians, he drinks little coffee. He likes cigars and occasionally smokes a pipe. He dislikes letter-writing and pens short notes when forced to write. Despite his enormous erudition he has a poor memory for names and faces, and will often pass his friends and acquaintances in the street without recognizing them. He is also handy with a drawing pencil and has done caricatures of some of the world's celebrities like the late Amy Lowell, Oliveira Lima, *et al.* In Recife he organized the first congress of Afro-Brazilian studies. He has traveled extensively in the United States and Europe and has been a visiting professor and lecturer at Stanford, Weslyan, Columbia, Michigan, and Indiana university. In 1941 he visited Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. He is now, between his duties as a deputy representing the National Democratic Union party (UDN), working on his exhaustive *Sociologia*, the first two volumes of which appeared in 1945.

A word should alo be said about the highly competent translation given us by Mr. Samuel Putnam. Because Freyre's prose follows closely the Brazilian vernacular in it use of Indianisms, Brazilianisms, and Africanisms, it is not the easiest language to turn into acceptable English. But Mr. Putnam does such a brilliant job that one is seldom aware that he is reading a translation. We are all indebted to him.

Cultural Operation

(*Continued from page 368*)

lege; the local N.A.A.C.P.; the Urban League; the Cleveland Public Library. A number of radio programs were turned over to telling listeners about it: the monthly program of the Museum itself, for example, with Mrs. McKnight and Judge Perry Jackson, a member of the Friendly Inn Settlement board, as speakers. *Minority Opinion*, the program of the Urban League, also devoted one of its broadcasts to the exhibit, an interview with Mrs. Reyneau herself; the Church Federation and the Sunday morning Negro Business Hour, too, devoted one of their regular broadcasts to it, as did the Cleveland Public Library.

Cleveland Library Cooperated

Perhaps the most effective bit of cooperation was extended by the Cleveland Public Library. At the very beginning, when the idea of the exhibit was first projected, Mrs. McKnight visited the Library to discuss possible ways of calling attention to the exhibit within the library walls. Albert Young, creator of the library's exhibits, devised the idea of displaying photographs of the portraits in one corridor of the main library with a display of books by and about the subjects of the portraits. This made an amazingly impressive and effective display. It attracted almost as much attention and comment as did the exhiibt proper. Much of the reason for this lay in the fact that people seeing the books often viewed them with the feeling that here was a display that could be used in their own organizations, be they schools, churches, or settlement houses. It was the kind of thing which might be immediately, and indeed, continuously available to them, while the portraits, in all their glory of color and vitality, would be there only for a while. So the idea of housing an exhibit of photographs of the portraits in the library at the same time that the exhibit proper was going on at the museum was probably the most important of the chain reactions set off by the project. It is in such recognitions of beauty, of human dignity and worth, that common ground may be found for all men, no matter what their race or creed.

Many Clevelanders expressed their feelings about the exhibit, and in all the statements there was the same sincerity of conviction that it was a deeply significant undertaking. The words of Herbert C. Hunsaker, dean of Cleveland College, are typical of what many others said. He wrote, "Art is a medium which can be especially effective in establishing an appreciation of the contributions to our democracy made by peoples of diverse cultural and racial backgrounds. The Cleveland *Exhibit of the Portraits of Distinguished Negro Leaders* achieved this aim for our community. I should like to see this same exhibit displayed in communities throughout the nation as a means of developing the understanding which alone can alleviate racial tensions."

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

ARKANSAS

J. R. Booker
Century Building, Little Rock
Telephone: 2-4248

W. Harold Flowers
Masonic Temple, Pine Bluff
Telephones: Office: 919; Residence 3339

CALIFORNIA

Clarence A. Jones
129 West Third St., Los Angeles 13
Telephone: Vandike 1764

Matthews & Williams
Charles H. Matthews & David W. Williams
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